Daily Report

East Europe

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14 August 1996

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Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-96-158 *14 August 1996*

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Balkans: Milosevic in Geneva for Talks With Tudjman, Others

LD1408111996 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1052 GMT 14 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Geneva, 14 Aug (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic this morning arrived in Geneva, where he will meet with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic, and U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, the host of today's talks.

President Milosevic is accompanied on his trip to Geneva by federal Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic and Colonel General Momcilo Perisic, chief of the Yugoslav Army's General Staff. [passage omitted]

Balkans: Izetbegovic, Milosevic, Tudjman Talks Previewed

LD1308143596 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1407 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Aug. 13 (TANJUG)—Serbian and Croatian Presidents Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman and Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic will meet at the United States U.N. mission in Geneva Wednesday for the third time this year.

Just as in the two previous cases, the bilateral talks will be mediated by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

Although the agenda of the summit has not been announced, it is certain that the central topics will be the implementation of the Dayton peace accords and the Sept. 14 elections in Bosnia.

The U.S. insists that all activities in the Bosnia peace process be stepped up and coordinated. The Geneva summit will, therefore, no doubt deal with the elimination of the not at all few problems in Bosnia.

Diplomatic sources in Geneva, proceeding strictly from the recent Athens meeting between Presidents Milosevic and Tudjman, say the summit will be held in a far more favourable climate than the previous two.

Diplomatic sources set out that the Athens meeting was a decisive step towards the normalization of Yugoslav-Croatian relations and an important elenent of he stabilization of conditions in the Balkans as a whole.

Washington doubtlessly wishes to [words indistinct] atmosphere created in Athens to further spur the peace process in Bosnia and other parts of the former Yugoslavia.

The U.S. cannot be fully complacent pending the Geneva meeting, since the Muslim-Croat Federation in Bosnia, ceated under its patronage in March 1994, has not begun to function.

The test in the ethnically divided city of Mostar has practically failed and a new formula needs to be found now for Croats and Muslims to start cooperating within their common entity.

The issue is primarily Washington's concern, since the federation was a U.S. idea.

Diplomatic sources in Geneva say the Athens meeting will positively reflect on the Bosnia peace process.

If so, it will come as a great encouragement on the eve of the September elections in Bosnia and as a big point for President Bill Clinton on the eve of the U.S. presidential elections in November.

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Albania: Army Begins Joint Exercises With U.S. Marines

AU1408094896 Tirana ATA in English 1622 GMT 12 Aug 96

[Report by Fatos Vladi]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 12 (ATA)—The joint Albanian-American exercise "Salvation Eagle '96" started today with a ceremony held in the Zall Herr commando troops unit. The exercise is being conducted in the context of the bilateral cooperation between the Albanian and the American Armies in the context of the Partnership for Peace.

The commander of the Commando Forces of Albania, Colonel Fatos Hoxha, and Colonel Richard Netonski, from the U.S. Marine Forces, spoke in the ceremony. Colonel Hoxha said that the exercise will show the real values of the Albanian special forces. "It will once more prove of the friendship between our two armies, between our two peoples," said he, adding that the exercise and others to follow in the future will serve the protection of stability in the region and elsewhere. U.S. Colonel Netonski greeted in the name of the U.S. Marine Troops and the Sixth U.S. Fleet.

Maneuvers in the sea and the ground will be conducted during the exercise. "The Albanian Army troops in cooperation with the marines of the Sixth U.S. Fleet will perform new elements and peace keeping operations, search and rescue manoeuvres in the sea and on the ground, joint actions of ships in carrying out the tasks of the coastal guard," said Albanian Defence Ministry sources.

In the past four years, Albanian troops have taken part in more that 20 joint exercises with armies of NATO countries and partners.

Albanian peace-keeping forces will take part in a multilateral exercise named "Cooperative Ospray," which starts in North Carolina (U.S.) today, with troops from the armies of three NATO member countries and 16 partner countries. Albanian Defence Minister Safet Zhulali, who left on a visit to the U.S. yesterday, will attend the exercise.

Albania: OIC Investment Agreement Seen as 'Challenge' to U.S.

AU1308174696 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 13 Aug 96 pp 3, 24

[Commentary by Gavrosh Levonja: "The Islamic Card—A Challenge to the United States?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At yesterday's cabinet meeting, one decree stood out among the range of routine decisions made every Monday by our executive body—the approval in principle of a draft agreement between the Albanian Government and the Organization of the Islamic Conference [OIC] to encourage, protect, and guarantee investments. Under other circumstances, such a decision would not make the slightest impression because protecting and encouraging investments is a vital need for our country. It would even be considered entirely normal if we remember that our country is a full-fledged member of the OIC. As is well known, however, Albania's relations with this organization and its member states have cooled since the initial enthusiasm. This is striking not only in the decline of contacts at different levels, but also in the total absence of agreements with Islamic countries, apart from one or two with Malaysia, etc. Also, throughout this time, Albania has been represented by some unimportant Foreign Ministry official, or even of some ministry without the slightest connection with the Islamic world, at important meetings of this organization that are generally attended by foreign ministers or heads of state. This has, no doubt, had its effect on the Islamicists, who have been unable to conceal their annoyance.

This attitude has of course been connected with the offensive mounted by Albania to show herself in as European a light as possible. The influence of the opposition at home, with its criticisms that Albania is veering toward the East, can also not be discounted. Moreover, the goal of improving relations with Greece, whose support for the ruling party in the elections will be very important, is another reason for keeping a distance from the world of the crescent moon. It is obvious that Greece is not kindly disposed toward a rapprochement between Albania and such countries, especially Turkey, because she has always been afraid of Albania turning into a "window of Islam" in our region and in Europe.

However, there are other reasons for the reappearance of the words "Islamic Conference" in our government's vocabulary. The problems that have arisen between Albania and Europe and the United States in the wake of the 26 May elections are well known. Thus, if the forgotten ties with Islam are picked up again, it means that Tirana can play this card in order to exert pressure on Europe to stop it being a "nuisance" about the 26 May elections. Moreover, Tirana's Islamic card could be seen as an open challenge to the United States. The United States, as part of the struggle against terrorism, has recently called for measures stretching as far as embargoes on trade and cooperation against Islamic countries known to sponsor terrorism. However, Europe's determined refusal to implement this demand of the Clinton administration has led to a confrontation over the U.S. President's threat of sanctions against companies that pay no attention to the U.S. stand. In this case, even though investment links between Albania and the Islamic countries may be inconsiderable, yesterday's decision looks like an attempt by the Albanian Government to appear to be "challenging" the United States.

The Albanian Government has remembered to protect the investments of the OIC immediately after the visit

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to Iran of Necmetin Erbakan, the Islamic Turkish prime minister who signed an important $20 billion agreement to receive supplies of gas from Iran. This has been called a challenge to the United States. Perhaps Erbakan has put it into our government's head that the heavens do not fall if you challenge the United States.

Albania: Decree Creates Permanent Central Electoral Commission

AU1408111296 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 14 Aug 96 p 3

["Decree on the Creation of the Central Electoral Commission of the Republic of Albania," issued by President Sali Berisha in Tirana on 13 August]

[FBIS Translated Text] On the basis of Point 19 of Article 28 of the Law on the Principal Constitutional Dispositions No. 7,491 of 29 April 1991, I decree:

Article 1

The Central Electoral Commission of the Republic of Albania is a permanent body that organizes, directs, and supervises the conducting of elections in the Republic of Albania in accordance with the dispositions of the Albanian state's laws on elections.

Article 2

The Central Electoral Commission consists of a chairman, a deputy chairman, a secretary, and 14 members.

The Central Electoral Commission is appointed by the president of the Republic on the proposal of the Council of Ministers and the political parties. It operates for a period of seven years. Its members have the right to be reappointed.

Article 3

The Council of Ministers makes proposals for the presidium of the Central Electoral Commission from the ranks of university academic staff. The director of the Directorate for the Organization of Elections and Referendums at the State Secretariat for Local Government becomes the secretary of the commission.

The seats for the commission members are distributed equally among the political parties who are part of the governing coalition and the opposition. Within this distribution, seats in the commission are assumed by representatives of political parties in proportion to the results they have achieved in the local government elections.

Article 4

If a political party that is part of the group of the governing coalition or the group of the opposition leaves this group, its seat or seats on the Central Electoral Commission are redistributed within the relevant group in accordance with the criteria established in the second paragraph of Article 3. If this party has achieved higher results in the local elections that any of the parties of the group of which it is part and which already have representatives on the Central Electoral Commission, then the party that is leaving a group will be guaranteed the seat on the commission belonging to the party that has achieved lower results in these elections.

After the conclusion of the elections for local government authorities, the balance of the political parties' representation on the Central Electoral Commission changes in accordance with the results they have achieved in these elections.

There can be no changes to the composition of the Central Electoral Commission in the last 15 days before the start of elections.

Article 5

When a political party that is due seats on the Central Electoral Commission does not present candidates to occupy these seats, the seats allocated to this party are taken by candidates put forward by other political parties according to the order laid down according to criteria in the second paragraph of Article 3, not less than 15 days before the election day.

Article 6

The second paragraph of Article 35 of the Law on the Elections to the People's Assembly of the Republic of Albania No. 7556 of 4 February 1992, as amended by Law No. 8055 of 1 February 1996, is amended to read as follows:

"The political parties that do not possess members on the Central Electoral Commission have the right to send observers to it from the start of the election campaign until the conclusion of the elections."

Article 7

In the first sentence of Article 46 of the Law on the Elections to the People's Assembly of the Republic of Albania No. 7556 of 4 February 1992, as amended by Law No. 8055 of 1 February 1996, the words "...in the Central Electoral Commission or..." are removed.

Article 8

The second and third paragraphs of Article 29 of the Law on the Election of Local Government Authorities

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No. 7573 of 16 June 1992 are amended to read as follows:

"The political parties that do not possess members on the Central Electoral Commission have the right to send observers to it from the start of the election campaign until the conclusion of the elections."

Article 9

In the first paragraph of Article 36 of the Law on the Election of Local Government Authorities No. 7573 of 16 June 1992, the words "...in the Central Electoral Commission or..." are removed.

Article 10

The Decree on the Central Electoral Commission of the Republic of Albania No. 1568 on 2 August 1996 is revoked.

Article 11

This decree comes into effect immediately.

Albania: 12 Aug Cabinet Meeting Decisions Reported

AU1408094496 Tirana ATA in English 1551 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 12 (ATA)—Today's meeting of the Council of Ministers adopted a decision which defines the criteria and norms for the categorization and classification of the tourist accommodation units and the improvement of their institutional activity.

Besides, the meeting passed a decision for a financial support for the coal mine of Memaliaj, southern Albania with a 14 million [currency not specified] fund to be provided by the Enterprises Restructuring Agency. The decision for the approval of a memorandum between the Albanian Government and the European Union for the project related to the elimination of unused pesticides through a fund of 1.7 million ECU, was also approved.

Additionally, the meeting adopted some changes in the administrative-land division and discussed the possibility for the opening of the port of Himara, in the Ionian sea, southwestern Albania, as a trade port.

Albania: PBSD: PDK Leader Claims About Cabinet Coalition Absurd

AU1408110896 Tirana ATA in English 0855 GMT 13 Aug 96

[Report by A. Frasheri]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 12 (ATA)—The chairman of the Social-Democrat Union Party [PBSD], Teodor Laco, has considered absurd the claim of the chairman of the Christian-Democrat Party [PDK], Zef Bushati, that the PBSD, as a left wing party, should not be a member of the government coalition.

Bushati, according to an article of the newspaper KOHA JONE, has asked the PD Chairman Tritan Shehu, who also holds the post of deputy prime minister and foreign minister, "that the PBSD should pull out of the government coalition."

This, according to Laco "also implies a claim by Bushati to replace him."

"Every party has the right to claim the place it thinks it deserves in the state's structure and every individual has aiso the right to declare himself a potential candidate for various posts, down to the highest ones. Whether he can face it or not, it us up to the others to consider."

In his request Bushati stressed that "a left force cannot be in a government coalition with right wing forces," holding that "a party member of the Christian-Democrat Union cannot co-govern with a party member of the Socialist International."

Responding to Bushati, Laco said that "the only thing I would suggest to my colleague Bushati, is for him to broaden his outlook on the European political map, in which he will find not one, but several cases with parties members of the Christian-Democrat Union cooperating and co-governing peacefully with Socialist International parties, irrespective of their national formations."

"Austria is a classic example of this coalition, with the Christian Democrat Party of Alois Mock governing together for some 15 years with the social democrats of Vranitzky," Laco said.

Albania: Ceka on Albanian 'Political Wasteland'

AU1408091196 Tirana POLI I QENDRES in Albanian 13 Aug 96 p 4

[Interview with Neritan Ceka, president of the Democratic Alliance, by S. Minxhozi; place and date not given: "Albania Is Entering a Political Wasteland"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Minxhozi] August is thought of as a dead month in politics and in general a vacation period. What do you think of the evolution of political life during the last two weeks in which you have not been here?

[Ceka] I think that Albanian politics is entering a wasteland similar to that created by the Albanian Workers Party in 1990. This was a wasteland that that caused by the party's own sterility and the great isolation of Ramiz Alia, who thought that Albania was

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neither East nor West. It is a wasteland that poses a danger to the entire Albanian people and jeopardizes the Albanian economy for the sake of an escapade undertaken by the irresponsible people who at present head the Albanian state. It is typical of these people that after stopping dialogue with the real parties of the Albanian opposition, they are in direct dialogue with the United States and Europe. We, Albanian political parties of the opposition are, we might say, on the reserve bench, and the fate of our political life, our economy, and our state will depend on the progress of dialogue between the United States and the group at present in charge in Albania. We can say that the symptoms are twofold: On one hand, power has been further concentrated and as a result dialogue is in the hands of a very few people or a single person who does not recognize dialogue, and is therefore preparing for a major failure. Moreover, there is a marked lack of political responsibility in the people surrounding him, especially Prime Minister Meksi. Another phenomenon is the creation of a new class of quislings in Albanian politics, concentrated in the parliament. I am not thinking here of traditional quislings that have clung to the president like ivy to a tree since 1992, but a group of people whom the Democratic Party [PD] fished out of the state administration, and who have academic titles and are creating a false intellectual aura round the government. These are the most dangerous people to have appeared in Albanian politics in recent years. The political wasteland created in August is threatening to entirely parch the tree of Albanian politics that was planted in 1990-91.

[Minxhozi] Ali Spahia, commenting on [U.S. Secretary of State] Christopher's expression of disappointment over the elections, expressed the idea that with the passage of time the Albanian Government will succeed in persuading the United States and Europe of the fairness of the elections and of its policies. Do you think that this will happen?

[Ceka] Alia Spahia is merely a poor mouthpiece of Berisha, just as Tritan Shehu and other hangers-on are. However, I can say that this idea is an illusion. We must remember that the United States has a four-square policy and does not surrender its political objectives, and that the objective of U.S. policy in Albania is to create and preserve stability. The U.S. principle of stability is firmly based on democracy. The United States considers only countries with stable democracies to be politically stable, and does not at all share the Berisha notion of peace through oblivion, a strong hand, and a single person in Albanian politics. Thus, regardless of the results of the U.S. elections in November, which are very promising for Clinton and for the continuity of Christopher's policies, we must bear in mind that the basic guidelines of U.S. policy do not change with a change of presidency. The U.S. plan for the reestablishment of democracy in Albania consists of four points, i.e., the organization of a roundtable as an alternative to an illegitimate parliament; the organization of local elections as a test of reestablishing trust in a free ballot; the organization of a constitutional assembly and the drafting of a constitution for an assembly with proportional representation; and finally, new elections for the establishment of a legitimate parliament too. These things must make up the basis on which dialogue among the political forces must be conducted and consensus must be reached among all those who think that Albania is a country of all Albanians. Any opposition to U.S. policy and any step taken in the teeth of the United States would be a dangerous escapade. History has shown that such contrariness has been the preserve of criminals such as Karadzic, the corrupt such as Somoza, the mad such as Duvallier, or communists such as Enver Hoxha. Any persistence in policies in this direction would indicate that that the Albanian leadership of today has one of these traits or all of them together.

I do not think that anybody has the right to trifle with the fate of the Albanian people and the destiny of Albanian democracy. Any obstinacy in this direction in the hope that Albania will be forgotten will meet the same end as the dream of Karadzic, who imagined that the United States would forget the part of Bosnia in which he held total sway. The sooner the leading political class in Albania learns this, the better it will be for themselves and for the entire Albanian people.

[Minxhozi] The president has decreed the creation of a Central Electoral Commission, which is to control all electoral procedures in Albania from now on. How do you judge this initiative by Berisha? Does he possess the legal right to do this, and what do you believe must be the body to confer authority on such a permanent institution?

[Ceka] The elections are a function of parties—anywhere—not just in Albania. It follows that any initiative in the direction of elections must be filtered by a consensus of the parties who are the foremost protagonists in the elections. Thus, every initiative in connection with the Electoral Commission, which is the main engine for the organization of elections and a guarantee for them, must pass through a preliminary round table of parties. This is the route that has been proposed both by the United States and the principal European organizations, such as the European Parliament and the Council of Europe.

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I think that what the president has done is an outright challenge to the recommendations of Europe and the United States, and is a further step on his path of absurdity. Moreover, he is trying to repeat the same scenario as in the 26 May elections, dragging the opposition toward the elections from his tailgate. I think that the opposition, under the pressure of the electorate, which is furious at the consequences of 26 May, will no longer prove as tractable as before the last elections. It is now the only section of the Albanian political class that preserves its common sense and is fully aware of the fate not only of democracy but of the Albanian state. I therefore particularly welcome the steps taken by the Socialist and Social Democratic Parties, which did not take part in this discussion table, and I think that this is the start of the catastrophe that will overtake Berisha as he pursues his authoritarian line. It is also the start of a new road that must be followed by a roundtable that must meet at the start of September under the direction of envoys from the Council of Europe.

[Minxhozi] While we are on this point, what do you think of the fact that 70 days before the local elections no discussion table involving both sides has yet taken place? Do you think that this discussion table will meet under the auspices of the Council of Europe?

[Ceka] We must clearly tell the Albanian people that the state we have in Albania today is a dictatorship and that Berisha is a dictator. Mr. Meksi is one of the mechanisms of the dictatorship, just as are the Interior Ministry, the National Intelligence Service, the Radio-Television, and the judiciary. Without dismantling this dictatorship and putting this system on the lines of what it was in 1992, there can be no political settlement in Albania. If this ugly system fails to become aware that it is a dictatorship that has been exposed in front of the world, but continues on its path, there can be no way out for Albania, even if foreign monitors come to Albania and even if a dozen roundtables are organized.

The discussion table of September will not inevitably lead to elections unless the criminal system set up during the last four years in Albania is corrected. I can accurately denounce those of whom this system composed. If the chiefs of the secret police who organized 26 May and 28 May are not dismissed, and it is known who they are; if the police chiefs who physically attacked the opposition leaders on 28 May are not dismissed; if the inquisitors of Albanian Television are not dismissed; and if representatives of the PD do not seriously sit down at the discussion table, assuming that this party really exists and is not merely a group of interests based on criminal activities, then there is no future for a normal course of development of democracy in Albania. In such a case, we will be heading for a conflict between a criminal state and Europe and the United States.

The opposition is now in the role of a reserve player, and will be invited to the discussion table, just as the opposition was invited in December 1990 and January, February, and March 1991, by Europe and the United States, who are aware that there is a dictatorship in Albania. If there is the slightest illusion that Albania has a democracy, not only the local government elections in October, but also all other elections will merely be farces that will make Europe laugh and Albania weep.

Albania: 'Substantial Drop' in Unemployment Rate Reported

AU1408110996 Tirana ATA in English 1523 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] At present there are 164,000 jobless in Albania. This figure indicates that unemployment rate has recorded a substantial drop over the last four years, if compared to the year 1990, when there were 730,000 unemployed. An important role in this drastic unemployment rate drop has been played by the creation and functioning of small and medium enterprises, where the very developed service sector in Albania has employed the majority of workers. Setting up of small food processing and handicraft industries has also been another factor.

To promote private initiative, the Ministry of Labour and Welfare has drawn up professional training programmes, which are substantially supported by the American Agency for International Development (USAID), the World Bank, and the Danish Government.

At present, only 5,000 people can attend these short-term training courses. "Graduates from the training courses can adapt themselves to the new economic and social structure and are offered the opportunity to start private enterprises thereby creating more jobs," says the coordinator of the World Bank project at the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

In cooperation with the Albanian Government, the World Bank has been implementing two projects that will help further lower unemployment. $12 million have been earmarked for the projects to be through by the end of the year 1998 in the areas of labour market and welfare.

Another factor that has helped lower unemployment rate has also been the new definition of unemployment according to world practice in the year 1995. According to the new definition, only those who turn up at Employment Offices for jobs can be called unemployed.

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Likewise the control exercised by Labour Inspectorate at the Ministry of Labour on private enterprises, has resulted in the legalisation of 13,000 illegal workers considered jobless previously.

Albania: Deputy Interior Minister Declares Decrease in Crime

AU1408093896 Tirana ATA in English 1032 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 12 (ATA)—Criminality in Albania has decreased by 45 per cent as opposed in 1992, according to an interview with the Interior Deputy Minister, Agim Shehu, with the newspaper ALBANIA on Sunday.

Shehu, after reminding that uncertainty prevailed in Albania in 1990-1992, stressed that the reform launched over the last years has greatly influenced in diminishing crime.

He said that the "level of criminality per 100,000 inhabitants is comparable with major Western countries including France, Italy, England, and other countries."

"Crimes including abduction, abuses and sexual violence are at a lower level in Albania than in the aforesaid countries," Shehu says further on.

Shehu says that "the hunting down of the persons, who commit crimes and seek to avoid investigation and trial, is one of the police priority tasks to bring these persons to court to receive the punishment envisaged by the law."

He says that the police operation in this field has been substantially intensified. This is testified by the interception of the persons committing crimes in many districts of the country including Tirana, Shkoder, Durres, and Vlore.

"Nowadays, the police also face phenomena emerging in the transition period such as mediation in prostitution, illegal traffic of people, and other phenomena.

"Defining the strategy in the fight against new phenomena of crime, preventing and attacking the crime since the very beginning is at the center of the police attention today," Shehu says in his interview.

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Bulgaria: Pirinski To Attend Democratic Convention

AU1408101696 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 14 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Ivaylo Kalfin, Georgi Pirinski's political spokesman, met journalists at the election Press Center of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] presidential candidate on 14 August. Mr. Kalfin commented on the results Mr. Pirinski's meetings with voters and concluded that the candidate's message is well received.

Some 130 "Together for Bulgaria" [Pirinski's election slogan] associations have been established throughout the country. The associations are enjoying increasing support and are resolving important issues in their municipalities, Mr. Kalfin said.

Mr. Kalfin did not comment on the polls regarding the candidates' ratings. According to him, no conclusion could be drawn as to which candidate would win. It is only clear that Mr. Pirinski enjoys a higher rating than the political parties that have proposed his candidacy, Mr. Kalfin said.

Georgi Pirinski will visit the United States from 25 to 31 August in his capacity as Bulgarian foreign minister. He will attend the Democratic Party Convention and meet State Department diplomats, politicians, and representatives of nongovernmental organization.

Bulgaria: Videnov Expresses Support for Libya

LD1308215196 Tripoli Libyan Television Network in Arabic 2000 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bulgarian Prime Minister Zhan Videnov has received the brother secretary of the Libyan Arab People's Bureau in Sofia, who conveyed to him the message from the brother leader of the revolution to world leaders and the president of the UN Security Council on the unjust measures imposed on the Great Jamahiriya.

The Bulgarian prime minister asked the brother secretary of the Libyan Arab People's Bureau to convey his greetings to the brother leader of the revolution, his great appreciation of the Libyan Arab stance, and his support for the right of the Great Jamahiriya to have the unjust measures lifted.

He announced that his country will take positive steps to stand by the Great Jamahiriyah in confronting these measures. [passage omitted]

Bulgaria: Videnov-Kontic Meeting Criticized

AU1408091996 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 14 Aug 96 p 13

[Article by Eli Yurukova: "Videnov Used by Serbian Propaganda"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Independent journalists in Belgrade said on 13 August that today's meeting between Zhan Videnov and his Yugoslav colleague Radoe Kontic will be a copy of meetings held during the time of Tito and Ceausescu. The Bulgarian and Yugoslav postal employees have done their job well, but their work will be utilized for a propaganda spectacle. In this context, reporters in Belgrade recall the words of President Slobodan Milosevic: "Videnov is a good boy."

At the Bulgarian-Yugoslav border, the two prime ministers will unveil the Sofia-Belgrade optical telecommunications cable and a commemorative plate. This plate, however, very much resembles one from a similar ceremony, when Tito and Ceausescu unveiled an identical plate marking the beginning of the construction of a hydraulic power plant, which was billed as a symbol of the fraternity and friendship between the two peoples and their communist parties. As today's event will be a copy, everything will thus appear ridiculous and pretentious, the Belgrade journalists point out.

In addition, Yugoslav citizens will actually witness the third official and festive "unveiling" of the cable. At the end of June, Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic unveiled the international telephone exchange, which actually is dead without the optical cable. At that time, the political-economic spectacle obtained additional importance because of the talks between the general director of the Yugoslav postal services and his Bulgarian colleague, Lyubomir Kolarov. On 7 July, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic unveiled a station for satellite communications, which also cannot function without the optical cable.

Bulgaria: Videnov Meets Plovdiv Oblast Leaders

AU1308203196 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 13 Aug 96

["Report supplied by BTA"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The updated national budget and its effects on the finances of the municipalities, interaction between the central and municipal executives, and the real restructuring of the economy—these issues were discussed at a meeting in Plovdiv today, in which Prime Minister Zhan Videnov, cabinet ministers, Plovdiv Oblast Administrator Petko Tsarev, mayors of the municipalities in Plovdiv Oblast, and business and industrial managers from the region took part.

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The mayors of the large municipalities in the oblast expressed their dissatisfaction with the reduced subsidies and the fact that they were not consulted during the drafting of the national budget. Plovdiv City Mayor Spas Gurnevski read an open letter addressed to the prime minister in which he accused the government of the genocide of blue [color of Union of Democratic Forces, SDS] Plovdiv. The letter proposed an increase in the percentage of the revenues from income tax and value-added tax that would remain in the municipalities. Prime Minister Videnov explained the reasons for his position that such a decision was unacceptable. The ministers agreed in principle to the idea of increasing the percentage of income tax allocated to the municipalities, but, in their view, this should take place in smaller steps, and in any case could not happen now.

Later in the evening, each of the cabinet members separately held several meetings on specific problems with company and bank directors of economic structures suffering difficulties as a result of the reform, with representatives of the regional taxation and customs administrations, and with farmers from the region.

Bulgaria: Petrov, Dobrev Submit Plans for Arms Industry

AU1408092596 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 14 Aug 96 p 4

[Article by Vasil Lyutskanov: "General Lyuben Petrov, Nikolay Dobrev Will Revive Arms Complex"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ivan Kolev, deputy chairman of the Interdepartmental Defense Industry Council, said that the position of the government on reforms in the military-industrial complex could be expected around 10 September.

Not one but two separate reports on reviving the arms industry have been prepared. The first, prepared by Nikolay Dobrev, current chief of the council and minister of internal affairs, has already been submitted to the interdepartmental council. The second is being prepared by General Lyuben Petrov, head of the National Assembly Commission on National Defense and former head of the General Staff. Reportedly there are differences between the two reports both in the manner in which the restructuring of the military plants is viewed, and the method of renewing the leading cadres. It is certain that the National Assembly will be called upon to vote on a new moratorium on the privatization of the basic military plants. However, unprofitable peripheral shops will be separated from the military-industrial complex and offered for sale.

The Bulgarian-Ukrainian Commission on Cooperation in Arms Industry will meet at the beginning of September, and the analogous Bulgarian-Russian commission in October. It is almost certain that agreements will be signed on the establishment of joint companies and on obtaining new arms licenses. However, it is not clear what funds would be used to stir the new productions. We cannot remain indifferent toward the national and foreign capital, but on the other hand, we cannot allow this capital to bleed our arms industry dry, Ivan Kolev said.

Bulgaria: International Group To Help Arms Industry

AU1408093396 Sofia PARI in Bulgarian 14 Aug 96 p 4

[Article by Nadezhda Semerdzhieva: "Bulgaria Joins International Information Processes and Technologies Academy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A Bulgarian section at the International Information Processes and Technologies Academy has been established, the Sofia office of the organization reported on 13 August. Academician Vladimir Troynev, chairman of the Russian side, introduced the Bulgarian team. Kliment Vuchev was already elected chairman during the spring, in Moscow. Bulgarian scientists Tsvetan Semerdzhiev, Emil Semerdzhiev, Boyan Petkov, Ivan Nikolov, and Ivan Stoyanov became corresponding members of the academy.

The international academy is developing joint projects with more than 20 scientific institutes throughout the world, Academician Troynev said. The areas in which the scientists are engaged are related to industry, food and the food processing industry, insurance, urbanization, and tourism. Projects related to the oil processing industry, radiotechnical communications, aviation technologies and productions, and machine building also exist. Academician Troynev said that the international academy will invest half a trillion rubles in its projects during the current year.

In an exclusive for PARI, Kliment Vuchev specified that the academy is also developing the best projects related to the top technologies of the defense industry. The accepted practice is to establish branches in various countries where the existing conditions are well known. The basic figures in the Bulgarian team come from the defense industry. An existing vacuum in our country will be eliminated, Mr. Vuchev said. He will be in charge of the practical application of the scientific achievements. The other members of the team will monitor the projects. There are relations with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, but it is not participating directly in the work of the international academy. The basic projects of the scientific institutes will be related to

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restoring the military complex. Obtaining new licenses for specialized production and investment credits from foreign companies is being discussed.

All our defense plants are in a grave situation, but the stress will be on continuing the activity of Electron Consortium, with which Mr. Vuchev is familiar. A proposal will be made to our military plants to adopt certain models for the production of light firearms. Kliment Vuchev said that the first task will be to search for markets.

Bulgaria: Kozloduy Operations, Nuclear Smuggling Discussed

AU0708133996 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 7 Aug 96 p 16

[Interview with Yanko Yanev, chairman of the Committee for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, by Dimitur Genchev; place and date not given: "Whether We Want It or Not, Bulgaria Is a Nuclear State"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Genchev] Mr. Yanev, now that Kozloduy has had its allocation of funds trimmed from 900 to 700 million leva, does this pose any risk to safety?

[Yanev] Although not enough, the money can do the job if it is used effectively. If more money is needed, the National Electricity Company will have to find it from its own resources.

[Genchev] The trouble is that the nuclear plant has no money for nuclear fuel either.

[Yanev] We must devise a more sensible scheme for importing the fuel. It is possible to pay for fuel by exporting goods instead of by direct settlement in dollars. The trouble is that a state agreement is needed for this.

[Genchev] What stage have the maintenance and repair operations in preparation for the winter reached?

[Yanev] A considerable part of the safety program for the No. 3 Reactor Unit, which is funded by the European Bank, has been completed. We now have to apply the program to the No. 4 Reactor. However, the bank will not provide any money for Reactors Nos. 1 and 2 because it believes that they should be closed down. Nonetheless, the testing of the No. 2 Reactor has shown that it can remain in service until 2004 or 2005. We believe that the samples from the No. 1 Reactor will produce the same result.

[Genchev] How much are the repairs costing?

[Yanev] The work on the safety systems for the Nos. 3 and 4 Reactor Units alone costs $30 million, and the same amount again is needed for Reactors 1 and 2. [Passage omitted]

[Genchev] Could the samples not have been taken earlier, so that we could be certain of having the No. 1 Unit available for the winter season?

[Yanev] Of course this was possible. However, at the last moment, the lack of fuel obliged the Kozloduy management and the National Electricity Company to use the reactor for a longer period. They wanted to keep it in operation until the end of June, but, for purely political reasons, it was shut down in the middle of May, because the EU applied threatening pressure. I consider that the unit will be available for use from next January, if fuel is available to recharge it. At present, we have sufficient fuel for three units only.

[Genchev] How much does the fuel cost?

[Yanev] For a 1,000-megawatt reactor, about $30-35 million, and for the small ones, about $12-13 million each. Accordingly, we need about $45-50 million for fuel for this half-season alone. Under normal operating conditions, nuclear plants should have sets of fuel rods in store. This is the immense advantage of nuclear power plants, that they can store their fuel in a small building and guarantee power supplies to the country for years to come. Many people do not realize that the advantage of nuclear power is not only that it is very cheap, but it is also more advantageous from the operational viewpoint. This $45 million would not be enough to buy coal for the Varna Thermoelectric Power Plant alone.

[Genchev] Will Bulgaria manage to retain its position as a nuclear country under such enormous foreign pressure?

[Yanev] Whether we want it or not, we are a nuclear country. Last week, the G-24 asked us to describe our nuclear potential and the possibilities and prospects that we face. In other words, they regard Bulgaria as a country that is developed in this field and one that has a serious, large-scale nuclear program. In no way do they regards us like Pakistan, although the people there may have more money than us, nor do they regard us as they do Iran and other countries. They look upon us as a country like Belgium.

Bulgaria has to utilize this component in its development, but we certainly should not speculate with nuclear power like Ukraine and certain other countries. Kiev has speculated to some extent with its military nuclear potential. Accordingly, we have to keep our present position because we deserve the necessary respect. However, this implies that, in the nuclear field, we must do our job in the best possible way.

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[Genchev] What is your comment on the recent and increasingly frequent cases of attempts to deal in radioactive materials?

[Yanev] Look, we now have some plants that have been listed for liquidation, like the one in Khrabursko. This plant contains radioactive elements that will have no owner when it is closed down, although this is prohibited by the law. In the course of the structural reform, we must be very careful and intelligent in our approach to nuclear power, because radioactive materials are used not only at Kozloduy, but also in many other locations throughout the country. The plant at Khrabursko, which was a division of Metalchim Holdings that engaged in the electronic treatment of materials, had radiation equipment with a power of 30,000 Curies. What does it mean when the plant is closed down? The workers are laid off, but who is responsible for the property? Thus, to be a nuclear country is not so simple. We must show that we are an intelligent country in all fields. It should not be that a state that operates six nuclear generating units has no research reactor. This is part of the unintelligent approach, because the nuclear state of Bulgaria has nowhere to train its personnel. In a nuclear country like Bulgaria, radioactive sources should not be lost or stolen.

[Genchev] Such a case of theft of radioactive sources was discovered in Kyustendil recently.

[Yanev] Yes, and there is a fine point here. The West is not only interested in finding out whether we have grain, but also in what kind of nuclear power plant we have and whether the trafficking in radioactive materials passes through Bulgaria. At first sight, it appears that such trafficking does not exist, but such incidents make us look like fools and are immediately picked up by the Western press. I am sure that the Kyustendil incident was reported in some newspaper or other. In the case of the people who deal with this sort of problem, the report showed up on their desks. Did they then say to themselves: Oh, is it Bulgaria again? This is the way that the view that we do not maintain our installations properly is formed. This is clearly untrue, but the present situation creates the prerequisites for such an attitude.

With this bad housekeeping and irresponsibility, we can easily repeat the incident that happened six or seven years ago in Goiania, Brazil. There, they shut down a unit of God knows how many thousand Curies in a hospital that was being closed. The garbage men took the radioactive source in question and cut it up into pieces; they even smeared it on themselves, because it made a nice glow. This incident was as terrible as Chernobyl. Entire town districts were contaminated, and people died instantly from the irradiation. In Bulgaria last year, an attempt was made to steal isotopes in Stara Zagora. Now, someone in Kyustendil thought he could become a millionaire. If it was possible to become a millionaire in this way, I would be the first! I know immediately what to sell where. Not only I, but all my colleagues would become millionaires. By stealing a 100-Curie source, foolish people can earn a few hundred dollars at the most, yet these 100 Curies are enough to kill them. [passage omitted]

Bulgaria: Russian Companies To Supply Safety Equipment

AU1208090096 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 10 Aug 96 p 10

[Staff report: "Russians Promise Money for Nuclear Power Plant's Safety"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russian companies are prepared to supply $400 million worth of equipment to guarantee the safety of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, IAEA Deputy Chairman Viktor Murogov said on 9 August.

According to Murogov, French, Czech, and German investments will facilitate the completion of construction of the Belene Nuclear Power Plant.

Murogov says Western companies such as Westinghouse and Siemens must provide equipment for nuclear safety. The rest of the equipment could come from Russia and the Czech Republic. Murogov promised that the IAEA will help attract investments in the construction of Bulgaria's second nuclear power plant. According to him, if Bulgaria does not complete its second nuclear power plant, the country will have problems guaranteeing its power supply balance.

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Czech Republic: Klaus Interviewed on Party Politics, Inflation

LD1308203896 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1620 GMT 13 Aug 96

[Regular weekly interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Jaroslav Skalicky—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Skalicky] The interview given by Josef Zieleniec, deputy chairman of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS], to the daily MLADA FRONTA DNES, hinted that the ODS leadership is not as united as it looks. Because some other government ministers also support Zieleniec's call for the plurality of views, don't you think this could affect the work of the government?

[Klaus] I do not see how this could affect the work of the government. This and also the previous government consist of independently minded people with their own views, which they strongly hold and would not like to give up. It is really not true that there is no discussion and no plurality of views within the ODS.

[Skalicky] There are two possible explanations of the insufficient discussion within your party. Either you, as an authoritarian chairman, do not provide room for discussion, or the others are unable to fight for it.

[Klaus] I do not think that either is true. I think a discussion always depends on the number of views and the number of people who are trying to promote or to fight for this or that view. Sessions of our Executive Council last two days, with discussions on various topics going on for 10 to 15 hours. I therefore do not understand the basis for the feeling that there is insufficient discussion within the party.

[Skalicky] Josef Zieleniec said in the interview that, if someone holds a different view, he runs the risk of creating conflict in the party.

[Klaus] It is really not true. Well, he has now presented us with a different view, and, as you can see, no party conflict has followed.

[Skalicky] You have said that your views differ considerably from those held by Josef Zieleniec. Can you tell us what the difference is?

[Klaus] I have not phrased it in this way. I have only said that we feel that our situation is problematic and that, undoubtedly, every individual has a different view on why this has happened, what to do next, and how to move forward.

[Skalicky] You have also said it is necessary to make a distinction between the interview and the comments various journalists made about it. If we make this distinction, what does this interview mean to you personally?

[Klaus] I would not like to overvalue it. The views of Mr. Zieleniec, his speculations about ideological broadening in the ODS, about setting up a number of consultative teams—we have been discussing these issues for a long time because we are trying to decide whether there is a scope for this broadening.

[Skalicky] Do you think this broadening is really necessary for reinforcing the ODS positions on the Czech political scene?

[Klaus] I do not know in which way to broaden our ideology, and the question is whether our problem lies in a lack of ideological breath, an inability to cope with particular issues, or the quality of some people. This is what I mean when I say that I might put emphasis on other matters than on those that Deputy Chairman Zieleniec emphasized in his article. I would then have to insist that not only does every member of the ODS have a right to hold a different view but also that the ODS chairman has a right to have his own view, a different view.

[Skalicky] What then, in you opinion, is the way to win the necessary 40 percent of votes?

[Klaus] I would be happy if we won as many, but I do not think it is possible in the foreseeable future. I do not think it is possible when there are two parties of the civic-democratic type, which have some similar features. I could imagine winning 40 percent if there were just one party. By saying this, I do not in any way wish to prod or provoke the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] because it would view this issue in an opposite way. However, speaking from my own viewpoint, I would say that, if there were only the ODS, there would be a chance. If some kind of a merger had taken place, if the political spectrum had really been tidied up, and, if five parties with their clearly different ideologies had remained in this political spectrum, I could imagine the 40 percent. As long as there are 20 or 25 parties, I think it will be very difficult for one party to win 40 percent.

[Skalicky] I therefore have to ask why the ODS is not going to the Senate elections with ODA.

[Klaus] I think that, in their own way, the two parties would like this, but it will be very difficult to find a mechanism to make it happen. Both parties have a number of candidates in mind. Considering the democratic character of the ODS, it would be rather difficult to say suddenly that the candidate for Blansko will not be from the ODS, while the one in Kromeriz will be, and so forth because it was decided at the meeting of the ODS and ODA chairmen. I therefore feel that this step

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cannot be taken and that the only possibility is agreement at the local level.

[Skalicky] Prime Minister, inflation in July reached 1 percent, and many people see this as a warning signal. What sort of a signal is it for you and the government?

[Klaus] I must say that there are no measures against this sort of thing because this increase has been caused for the most part, by an intentional deregulation of prices. It is not clear what will happen to annual inflation, but I think lowering inflation by 1 percent each year is a realistic aim, although I think it is a very difficult aim, too.

[Skalicky] In the past few weeks there has been talk of the possible devaluation of the koruna, above all in connection with the growing trade balance deficit.

[Klaus] I do not think that macroeconomic trends call for any change in the koruna's rate. We can see that the koruna has maintained a very stable level, although the fluctuation range of 7.5 percent in either direction, which is feasible, is sufficiently large. Naturally, we would never think about major devaluation or revaluation. The fact that the koruna does not reach the upper or lower limit of the above range indicates that there is no actual economic pressure on the rate of exchange.

Czech Republic: ODS Council Discusses Zieleniec Interview

AU1408092696 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 13 Aug 96 p 1

[Article by "jik, pan": "Klaus Confirmed That He Disagrees With Zieleniec"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The Civic Democratic Party [ODS] confirmed yesterday that different opinions exist within its leadership regarding the unconvincing victory in the recent parliamentary elections.

The Executive Council session that the foreign minister interrupted his vacation to attend spent three hours discussing his interview with MLADA FRONTA DNES, during which he said that currents of ideas must emerge within the party and that members should decide on party politics more than they have done so far. During the closed debate, where the minister was both praised and criticized, Chairman Klaus briefly summarized: "We agreed that the statement by Deputy Chairman Zieleniec is an important component of the discussion about the postelectoral situation and the future strategy of ODS politics and that it does not mean a confrontation between prominent personalities within the ODS.

As soon as Klaus and Zieleniec described the closed Council in more detail, however, it came out that they each hold a different view. Klaus agrees that the ODS should reflect on what could have been done better before the elections, but he described his view of the problems as different from Zieleniec's. "Mr. Zieleniec has said what he feels. I do not feel the same," he said.

Zieleniec confirmed that he considers the text of the interview to be his view on the postelectoral situation. "It is important to discuss it," he said.

Klaus, who tried to ease the atmosphere after the Executive Council session with smiles and bon mots, emphasized that it is necessary to separate press comments from the contents of Zieleniec's interview. He stated clearly, however, that he opposes the emergence of opinion factions, for which Zieleniec called.

One of the participants said that the Executive Council had not reached any conclusions. "Everyone felt the need to comment. Some did not like the fact that Zieleniec spoke to the press before talking with the party; others praised him. I cannot say what will change in the party now," a high-ranking ODS representative said.

Czech Republic: ODS Chairman Klaus Claims Support in Regions

AU1408094096 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 13 Aug 96 p 2

[Article by Stepanka Kucerova and Jiri Kubik: "The ODSS Chairman Claims That the Regions Are Behind Him Rather Than Behind Zieleniec"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Civic Democratic Party [ODS] Chairman Vaclav Klaus cast doubts yesterday on the claim that numerous regional associations of the ODS agree with the views of Deputy Chairman Zieleniec, who called for new currents of ideas to emerge within the party.

"I cannot say that I know the views of the regional associations," Klaus said, but immediately added that he definitely does not have the impression that Zieleniec's appeal had given rise to a wave of disagreement with the party's domestic policy from members in the individual regions.

At the same time, several of them publicly supported Zieleniec's criticism last week of the internal party situation. Otakar Mika, chairman of the Cheb ODS Municipal Association, for instance, believes that the time is ripe to change the system within the party so as to facilitate the impact of free opinions.

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To demonstrate that the ODS members in the regions favor his position, Klaus presented to reporters a letter from Lubomir Dvorak, chairman of the Zdar nad Sazavou ODS. "We do not believe that the party should echo more than one voice. If we take the notion as the point of departure that we have only one chairman, we understand that the formulation of the essential ideas should be made in a single voice," the letter says.

Klaus handed it over to reporters, saying: "Print this. Here you can see how the regional associations react."

Klaus was preparing for the session of the Executive Council yesterday from early morning. He summoned four party colleagues—Interior Minister Jan Ruml, Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik, Deputy Chairman Jan Strasky, and Deputy Chairman Ivan Pilip. "We consulted on how to coordinate the session because the Executive Council originally had only the preparation of the Senate elections on the agenda. We will try to move the discussion of Deputy Chairman Zieleniec's interview to the next meeting of the Executive Council at the end of August," Ruml said after the morning meeting.

Most of the Council members opposed this motion and put the discussion of the situation within the party as the first item on the agenda.

Czech Republic: ODA, KDU-CSL Cooperation in Jeopardy

AU1308180896 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 13 Aug 96 p 2

[Article by Ludek Navara: "Cooperation Between ODA and the KDU-CSL Is Threatened by Collapse in Southern Moravia"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Brno—Although the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] and the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL] reached an agreement on proceeding jointly in the Senate election, the South Moravian representatives of the two parties admit that the agreement may encounter difficulties in some local districts. Both the KDU-CSL and ODA consider Southern Moravia their bastion of support and therefore they fight for each candidate much harder than anywhere else. [passage omitted]

Czech Republic: CSSD Deputy on Control of Intelligence Service

AU1308143096 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 13 Aug 96 p 3

[Interview with CSSD Deputy Jaroslav Basta, chairman of the parliamentary Commission for Supervision of the Security Information Service, by Jan Hrbacek; place and date not given: "Perhaps We Will Manage To Improve the Control of the Secret Services"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Hrbacek] You are the chairman of the parliamentary commission for the supervision of civilian counterespionage. You are also renowned for your radical approach to control of the secret services. You recently spoke in favor of reinforcing control of the Security Information Service [BIS] and allowing, for instance, access to the active files. How will you proceed now, as one of the important and high-ranking members of the parliamentary commission?

[Basta] So far, I have only had a chance to superficially acquaint myself with the results of the former supervisory commission and the conclusions drawn by the last chairman of this control body, Deputy Machacek. I can only identify with his conclusions because he arrived at the opinion that the commission does not have sufficient power for efficient control. Of course, given our authority, I will try to do everything in my power to get the work done as well as we possibly can. We will have to push for some changes. One of them is that we must change the stipulation that the commission can only check closed files. This stipulation certainly reduces the parliamentary control to a mere archive monitoring body. Another measure I will try to implement will be that the commission meet more frequently and work more.

[Hrbacek] So, you will try to push through the advertised access to the active files in the Chamber?

[Basta] Yes, definitely. Everything else depends on the parliament, but I believe it has a good chance of passing. If I recall the proposal by the Civic Democratic Alliance, for instance, in the past term (it was a motion by Deputy Suman) and some deputy motions, I believe that this idea aimed to improve the role of parliamentary control over the secret services, I emphasize secret services; it should have a good chance of being adopted.

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Slovakia: Article Analyzes Interest in NATO, EU Entry

AU1408100596 Bratislava SME in Slovak 13 Aug 96 p 6

["Analysis" by Michal Berko: "How Will Meciar Solve Kohl's Crossword?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Before Meciar went on vacation, Slovakia had received several signals that it should speedily and in a decisive manner alter the ruling coalition's means of conducting its domestic policy, which is unacceptable for the EU and NATO. German Chancellor H. Kohl sent Bratislava perhaps the most resolute signal. His statement that Slovakia has the prerequisites for becoming an EU member, but not at the moment, was, however, like speaking to a brick wall as far as the ruling coalition is concerned. Those who want to talk to the captains of industry and the banks, however, are more engaged in this. Everything that is happening prior to the end of the politicians' vacations in Slovakia indicates that no positive signals will be sent to the West. President M. Kovac, who has returned from his vacation in the United States, was the first to experience this. Prosecutor General M. Valo "taught" him how to interpret his rights and the Constitution. Whoever had thought that the prime minister was not looking forward to the return of his rival from the United States was brought quickly back down to earth. If we are to believe certain sources, as opposed to the president, Prime Minister V. Meciar spent his short vacation in Russia. It is an interesting coincidence that this was at the time when the decision was being made there on the future of the Russian ambassador in Slovakia, S. Yastrzhembskiy, and when V. Chernomyrdin again became prime minister. But in this context, even more interesting is the report on the meeting between Prime Ministers Meciar and Horn. If V. Meciar were in Moscow on a short "vacation" prior to his meeting with Hungarian Prime Minister Horn, then it is also obvious that this was not an ordinary vacation. It is hard to believe that a new, even higher academic degree than the doctorate from Lomonosov University awaited him. S. Yastrzhembskiy is not receiving offers of posts in the office of President B. Yeltsin or of Primakov without reason.

If we look at the vacations taken by the president and the prime minister, we begin to think: What can be their common purpose? Only one thing pops up: They were both trying to ascertain what would happen if we really drop out of the process for admission in the first wave... While as far as the United States and the West are concerned, if you know how to read you will find out almost everything, as far as the government is concerned—and the prime minister especially—you will only find out about clandestine communications. The most recent, for example, was the announcement that he will discuss Gabcikovo and the minorities with Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn. Perhaps a document on this subject has already been prepared. As V. Meciar is, however, still the Slovak prime minister, he should know that the EU and NATO are not like the Party of the Democratic Left and his coalition partners, and that he cannot just treat them any way he likes. H. Kohl's statement is a crossword puzzle for him and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, but only until this November. I think that no brainteaser will be necessary then. Anyone monitoring developments among our neighbors must have noticed that they are paying more attention to H. Kohl's statement about Slovakia than we are at home!

I believe, however, that the foreign-political impact of Kohl's statement is more serious. Washington and Bonn have obviously come to the conclusion that there is no real interest in Slovakia in membership in NATO and the EU, and if there is, then not as part of the security and foreign-political philosophy and doctrines of the West. This ambiguity is evidently the reason for the cautious and negative attitude toward Slovakia. NATO and the EU have an opportunity to see in the example of Bosnia, where for the first time since the establishment of NATO the West is also involved militarily, the kind of complications small states with "big leaders" can cause... And if they are now seeing that in Bratislava—despite the numerous talks and meetings, during which it was pointed out that the coalition has to respect the rules of democracy if we want to become a member of NATO and the EU—no changes have been made or are being made, then they have simply drawn the conclusion from this that the government of Prime Minister V. Meciar is untrustworthy, and that its interest in membership in the EU and NATO is merely formal. It is no less interesting to monitor the kind of reactions that Kohl's rejection of Slovakia is arousing among our neighbors. That is, there is no doubt that with his "out" for Slovakia, the Bonn chancellor has contributed to intensifying the movement and dialogue on NATO and EU enlargement in Prague, Warsaw, Budapest, and Vienna. However, H. Kohl had to take into consideration the fact that his attitude toward Slovakia, and toward the ruling coalition of V. Meciar in particular, would not be perceived discriminately, but obviously he decided to take this risk in view of the ratio of forces on Slovakia's political scene. He is a realist, and in this regard he has certainly also pleased Moscow. The Kremlin has thus been given an opportunity to further entice and exert pressure on Bratislava. If Prime Minister V. Meciar really was just in Russia, and because there is nothing here at home

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to suggest that anything is going to be changed at the National Council session in September, then H. Kohl and the U.S. Congress were right when they struck Slovakia off the list of countries applying for admission into the EU and NATO.

We represent a state security risk from the point of view of the perception and implementation of our policy, and thus also a certain type of detonator for crisis and tension... Incidentally, it is enough to contemplate how the almost 600,000 ethnic Hungarian citizens and obviously also many Slovaks, will react if the EU and NATO border really is formed around Slovakia.

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Hungary: 'Final Text' of Hungarian-Romanian Treaty Completed

LD1408122396 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1200 GMT 14 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The final text of the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty has been completed, at least at the expert level.

Following one and a half days of talks, Ferenc Somogyi, Hungarian foreign affairs state secretary, and Marcel Dinu, Romanian foreign affairs state secretary, announced that they had managed to reach agreement on all issues.

There will be another meeting in Budapest next week, but that is only to fine tune the text in language terms and compare the Romanian and Hungarian versions.

According to the state secretaries, the basic treaty may be signed in the first half of September.

Hungary: Article on Reasons for Postponing Horn-Meciar Meeting

AU1308181696 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Aug 96 p 1

[Correspondent's report: "The Horn-Meciar Summit Will Not, After All, Be Held Today—The Slovak Prime Minister Asked To Postpone the Meeting"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] According to NEPSZABADSAG's information, the Hungarian side initiated the dialogue last weekend, but on 12 August, [Slovak Prime Minister] Meciar telephoned [Hungarian Prime Minister] Horn and suggested postponing the meeting. In the meantime, on television on 11 August, Horn even listed the expected topics of the meeting planned for 13 August. According to our information, Meciar initiated the postponement for domestic political reasons. Still criticizing the statement made at the Hungarian-Hungarian summit, nationalist forces within the Slovak Government coalition exerted pressure on Meciar. Another reason might be that the same circles are opposed to the possible Hungarian participation in Slovak privatization, which was also mentioned by Horn.

In their telephone conversation on 12 August, Horn voiced his disappointment, but he confirmed that he was still willing to hold talks on bilateral relations. The statement of the Prime Minister's Office also underlined the Hungarian willingness to further develop relations.

Hungary: Perilous Situation in Army Funding

LD1308162496 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the defense trade union, funds earmarked for the Defense Ministry in the 1997 draft budget would guarantee the organization's operation for only six months. If the government's session on Thursday approves the Finance Ministry's plan, the army will be unable to carry out its duty in 1997. Agnes Pap reports on the trade union meeting:

[Pap] Defending the country's sovereignty would also be jeopardized unless fundamental changes are immediately made in the Hungarian Army, defense trade union spokesman Peter Konya said. He stressed that the army's financial, professional, and moral state is so bad that it might soon be considered as being on its last legs. According to professional soldiers, if Hungary is admitted to NATO, it will not be able to be an equal partner because our Army—with its almost useless technology and deteriorating training conditions—is only fit to perform auxiliary tasks.

We do not want to be NATO's orderly, the defense trade union's deputy chairman said. He added that soldiers want to serve in an army which is transparent and predictable, and in which professional criteria played a key role. According to Lieutenant Colonel Valentin, the Finance Ministry's draft budget, which is to be debated by the government on 15 August, does not serve this aim. The funds earmarked for the Army are even smaller than its 1996 funds, and would only cover its operation for six months, at the most.

The trade union leader also added that the funds allocated to the Army for this year will last only until the end of October, at the latest. There are unpaid public utility bills, and the Army's reserves have been exhausted.

The soldiers object to a practice whereby decisions on matters affecting them are made without them and even without a briefing.

Hungary: Defense Minister Denies Army on Verge of Bankruptcy

LD1308202796 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Defense Minister Gyoergy Keleti has firmly denied the army union's claim that the army could be on the verge of bankruptcy in about two months' time.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] [Passage omitted] The union believes that the nearly 70

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billion-forint budget support envisaged for next year would be insufficient. Although Defense Minister Gyoergy Keleti agrees with this, he thinks the trade union has been trying to assert its interests in the wrong way:

[Keleti] They seem to have assumed a mistaken role. They think they have to make defense policy instead of representing interests.

[Correspondent] The minister denied that the Army was on the verge of bankruptcy. He admitted, however, that at the moment there was indeed little money for the operation of the Army:

[Keleti] We do indeed have problems regarding the Army's operational costs. However, this has been the case in the past toward the end of each year. We will be able to resolve these problems again, and the Army will be ready and able to carry out its tasks. [end recording]

Hungary: Army Officer on Training Level of Soldiers

AU1408110096 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Aug 96 pp 1, 5

[Article by Peter Matyuc: "Untrained Discharged Soldiers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Conscripts are being discharged untrained because the Hungarian Army does not have enough money for the exercises and the physical state of soldiers is rather poor, Colonel Istvan Demeter, general training chief of the Hungarian Army, told NEPSZABADSAG.

Due to the austerity measures, basic training has become increasingly deficient, Demeter said. The Army participates in or organizes almost only international peace partnership exercises, although the cost of these is many times higher than the cost of domestic ones.

In some troops these deficiencies endanger their application in war, and some conscripts who are discharged after service probably would not be able to perform military tasks within a short time.

The Army does have functioning units, but it is not certain that the other battalions of the Hodmezovasarhely brigade would perform as well as the one that was made to do an exercise in front of foreigners because the good training of the latter was done to the detriment of the others, Demeter said.

The Army does define what performance levels of training can be achieved, but due to financial problems, conscripts often cannot achieve these levels. Although they do have surplus ammunition that could be used in exercises, this would also mean that military equipment would be worn away faster.

Demeter also spoke about the conscripts' general physical condition and their state of health. Very many of those eligible for military service are not or are only to a limited extent suitable for military service. Many have circulatory problems, are obese or overweight, and the urine and blood tests often show that they use narcotics—mainly combinations of alcohol and drugs. Often, young people with unstable nervous systems appear for conscription, Demeter said.

We are not expecting Rambos to join the Army; people in average physical condition should also be suitable, Demeter continued. Some 60 percent of conscripts cannot run for 10 to 12 minutes, climb a rope, pull themselves up twice on a bar, or throw a hand grenade 35 meters.

According to the Army's own data, the training level and physical state of regular soldiers is much better than this. Officers and warrant officers have to keep up their training all the time. Improvement and maintenance of physical endurance is part of the training program, but the new requirements have not always been welcomed by regular soldiers. The reason is that the requirements will be much higher than the previous ones were. It will be expected of the officers and warrant officers to do sports both during work hours and in their free time, and thus show a personal example to the conscripted soldiers. It can be expected that the regular soldiers, if they meet the new physical training requirements, will get increased pay or a higher rank, Demeter concluded.

Hungary: Radio Chairman Describes Media Policy, Plans

AU1308134896 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 10 Aug 96 p 7

[Interview with Istvan Hajdu, chairman of the Hungarian Radio Corporation, by Marianna Mucsanyi; place and date not given: "Hungarian Radio Will Be Changed in Four to Five Years"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Hungarian Radio Corporation Chairman Istvan Hajdu, who also ran the institution between August 1988 and August 1990, is not planning radical changes. In his view, his most important task is to set up the radio of the 21st century, which, as a corporation with a streamlined bureaucracy and clearer management, would create a background for three markedly different channels.

[Mucsanyi] After six years, you are back as chairman of Hungarian Radio. What kind of institution did you leave, and what is it like now?

[Hajdu] In the late 1980's, we had an open and outspoken radio station that discussed the problems, and its

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programs became important events of intellectual life. Due to the changes in political and social life, reports or statements do not now have the same importance as before. Nevertheless, I believe the radio has managed to preserve its values.

[Mucsanyi] According to colleagues, there is nothing left of the good atmosphere, and the team that was hardened by political scandals and defined the radio's image is no longer there.

[Hajdu] Indeed, many of the star reporters of the 1980's are not here anymore, but, as I far as I can see, Hungarian Radio still is of the highest standard in Europe as regards its intellectual standards. I hope some of the young people will develop into people like the former "big ones."

[Mucsanyi] What changes are you planning, and how many people can remain with the Radio?

[Hajdu] I do not want to make the already tense atmosphere more unbearable through drastic changes. Without any pathos, I say that I think in terms of a radio of the 21st century, and the important thing is to implement the necessary changes by the turn of the century. It is certain that in 2000, purely because of technical development, as few as half as many people will be able to produce the same amount of programs at the same high level.

[Mucsanyi] How will radios operate in four to five years?

[Hajdu] I have already partially touched on this issue. We must use the most modern technology, and we must become faster and more mobile if we want to remain competitive in the market. We must also reduce the operational costs, but rather than saving on classical music, youth programs, or radio plays, we want to save in the administration of producing programs, in organization and bureaucracy.

[Mucsanyi] Are you worried that public service duties will suffer because of the rationalization?

[Hajdu] They cannot suffer. We must continue to provide objective, fast, and authentic information. The basic values of public service cannot be harmed because of a lack of money. We must show the social problems, provide air time for civic organizations and national and ethnic groups, and we must pay attention to the growing stratum in Hungarian society for which, due to financial reasons, radio is the only link to culture.

[Mucsanyi] According to the media law, the radio chairman has to formulate the rules for producing public service programs. What will they consist of, and how will they influence the situation of radio employees?

[Hajdu] A code of ethics for producing programs will be drawn up on the basis of coordinating the existing rules and the emerging problems. For example, it will define the employees' independence from parties, conflicts of interest, rules regarding minors, and several principles of media ethics. I am only planning major changes in one area; namely, in employees providing services for other sections. I believe the rules have to be made stricter in this area. But this will not be done overnight because I know very well that working for several sections provides an acceptable standard of living for many people. The employees will be given time to decide in which area they wish to work.

[Mucsanyi] Are you planning to use external producers, similar to television?

[Hajdu] For the moment, I am not. In our experience, external production is more expensive. Actually, in the late 1980's, we tried to set up outside workshops under my guidance. Even then the establishment of these workshops met with difficulties. Although it would be good for the materials to be assessed in a competitive environment, I do not think we need to push very much for this.

[Mucsanyi] To what extent will the radio of the coming years be a medium involved in politics, and how does it wish to entertain?

[Hajdu] Hungarian Radio has to operate well-defined, markedly different channels. Kossuth Radio's main task will be to provide information and handle current affairs. Petofi Radio—I think this is where we will have the most to do—will have a lighter profile with a lot of music. I see Bartok as a channel for classical music and programs for intellectuals. The developed world follows this model. Listeners do not look for cabaret and Wagner on the same channel. Digital technology and satellite broadcasting make it possible for us—just like television—to cover the same region with more than one program at the same time.

[Mucsanyi] Will the rather narrow advertising market forestall technical development? How will the media survive it?

[Hajdu] There is a given amount of advertising, and I am not exaggerating when I say that the market is already divided up. Some change might be achieved with very aggressive marketing, but there is not a lot of room to maneuver. Nevertheless, I am optimistic. According to the calculations, the commercial radios do have a financial basis. For example, Danubius Radio, which is a well-functioning commercial channel, is able to get more advertising income than Kossuth and Petofi combined. In addition, its maintenance and operating

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costs are much lower. It is certain that the commercial channels will have to share the advertising market because it isn't goint to get any bigger.

[Mucsanyi] In what way would the government's planned measure affect the establishment of private radio channels?

[Hajdu] The decision is unacceptable in principle, and it would not have brought any benefit. Due to the nature of the advertising market, a strange situation would have arisen with a decree that would have evoked protest from the media and could not have been implemented. Even if advertising time limits are lifted, incomes cannot be significantly increased on the Hungarian market. With strong marketing, some 10 to 15 percent more money could be earned. However, it is debatable if the investment would be worth the money. And the newly formed commercial channels would find themselves in an impossible situation.

[Mucsanyi] Despite the debates of the past few months, the radio has been functioning on schedule. The chairman has been elected and the corporation has been formed, despite the attacks.

[Hajdu] A lot of administrative work is in the background. For the past two months, we have only been working on economic changes. It is also important, of course, that radio is still in a much better condition than television.

[Mucsanyi] What role did the "little money—little performance" principle play in this? It seems that radio has not been so surrounded by political and financial lobbies.

[Hajdu] This also played a role in the relatively quick transformation, and so did the fact that the system itself is simpler.

[Mucsanyi] How far have talks progressed with the financial administration on Hungarian Radio's debts?

[Hajdu] I hope we come to an agreement. The corporation does not wish to disclaim its debts, but we cannot take on burdens bigger than the current ones because the institution would then become unable to operate. No one could want the broadcasting time to be reduced when throughout the world there are channels broadcasting 24 hours a day that are able to survive. I imagine it would also be unacceptable for the government if financial problems prevented Hungarians living outside from getting the news. If the financial government insists on making us pay, then we have to reduce broadcasting time and power. We simply cannot save any other way.

We owe 1.3 billion forints to one company alone, Antenna Hungaria. Some of this debt cannot be disputed, so we have already used the services of the corporation. [sentence as published] However, we are disputing another part of it and have taken the issue to court. We would like the government to accept our offer; that is, we are willing to repay some money from the sale of Danubius Radio.

Hungary: KDNP Chairman Criticizes Media Behavior

AU1308182796 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 10 Aug 96 p 4

[Interview with KDNP Chairman Gyorgy Giczy by Gabor Moricz; place and date not given: "The Value of News Does Not Depend on Parliamentary Proportions: Giczy on the Media Situation; The Press Does Not Present the Opposition Alternatives"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *As we have already reported, the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] has protested in a statement because the Television News did not report their news conference in which they criticized the government decision aimed at changing the media law. We interviewed KDNP Chairman Gyorgy Giczy on the background to the protest, the current media situation, and the parties' public appearances and opportunities to be shown and the limits of these.*

[Moricz] Why did you decide in favor of public protest?

[Giczy] Even the Television News, which has strict time limits, can quote two or three sentences from the news conferences of all parties that would be of interest to the public. It is thought provoking, to say the least, if a television news crew is present and working at a location but nothing is shown in the program about the event. After all, a party, especially if it is in opposition, holds news conferences because it wants to reach the public on a given issue.

[Moricz] According to the news program's editors, the reason nothing was shown was that the issue had been covered a number of times before....

[Giczy] Indeed, the government decision regarding the media law and its effects had been covered, but we went a step further and called attention to the fact that, as a result of this government decision, it became questionable whether the EU had been informed correctly. If they had answered the Brussels questionnaire in the spirit of the media law while the government decision was already in the making, then they clearly misled the EU. In this way, one can also asked whether true answers were given regarding agriculture, industry policy, or privatization. If this is not worth a single sentence on Hungarian Television's News program, then we have to say that the newscast is

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prepared in the spirit of the government decision. This is why we published our protest. Naturally, I tried to talk to the news editors beforehand, but they said—and this also is typical of the current style and condition of the media—that I should come back a week later because the daily editor who had prepared the news would only be available then.... This is a joke, it is offensive and humiliating.

[Moricz] Do you not think that this is a one-off case? After all, editors, newspapers, and journalists have the right to select from the news items....

[Giczy] This is not a unique case. Trying to push the opposition parties out of publicity is a tendency today! I attended a conference in Germany at the 50-year anniversary of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union], where Chancellor Helmut Kohl was also present, and the report on this was left out. I still have Ferenc Szekely's letter in which he expressed his regret that the daily editor had made a mistake. If he now writes another letter to me, what shall I do with it?

[Moricz] According to a recent report, the opposition parties are over-represented in the public service news programs....

[Giczy] First of all, I do not think that the proportion of appearances in news programs has to match the parliamentary proportions. If a party raises a serious issue, then it has to be given access to publicity, regardless of the number of its parliamentary seats. We are pushing for the implementation of the media law precisely because it will give an opportunity for citizens, parties, and social organizations to formulate their criticisms. And this is why certain groups that are not at all free from political influences prevented the implementation of the rules in accordance with the media law for a long time. Secondly, the KDNP does not have media empires and press interests, we do not have a dependency relationship with any of the editorial rooms or groups running a medium through which we could have our ideas and efforts published. We do not have so-called independent publicists who would keep pushing our policies everywhere in the media. This works very well for some parties.

[Moricz] What and whom do you mean?

[Giczy] For example, it is a very strange situation when Andras Veer, as an independent publicist, presents his views on parties in a newspaper when he is managing chairman of the Republic Party and later a ministerial commissioner with the Socialists. Or Istvan Nehez-Posony, who again signs his articles as an independent although he was a parliamentary candidate for the Alliance of Free Democrats. I am not saying that certain people should not write in the newspapers, but the unsuspecting readers should be told if the author is committed to a party.

[Moricz] The media market is getting narrower, interest in newspapers is decreasing. Many people say the reason is that people are turning away from politics. I am asking you, also as a former journalist: Can the reason be the mishandling of publicity? I mean that the newspapers do not show the truly important issues of politics and life.

[Giczy] Yes, that is the reason. More precisely, the reason is that the information is not independent and is not balanced. It is not objective enough to give people the opportunity of choice, to know what the difference is between the various political forces. If the broadcast information blends the dividing lines or gives preference to certain forces, then people's ability to choose is eliminated or distorted.

[Moricz] Pardon me for saying so, but this is a typical opposition stance. One could say it is the opinion of an offended politician.

[Giczy] It is not. I could mention Laszlo Kasza's recent program—in which coalition representatives and opposition parties participated in a roundtable discussion assessing the government's past two years. Laszlo Pokorni, deputy of the Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party, noted that the presenter only allowed the opposition parties to raise ideas to which the government representatives were able to give lengthy answers, as the only experts who have the solutions.... Unfortunately, opportunities exist for certain programs and newspapers to present the opposition in a subordinate role. This one-sidedness has to be stopped! In addition to debates between parties, the actual debates between various social groups and strata also have to be presented because this is the only way in which a true clash and coordination of interests can be achieved, and this is the way in which citizens can be helped to become informed and to practice their democratic rights.

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B-H: Izetbegovic on Call for Croats 'To Return to Their Homes'

LD1308200096 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The presidents of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, and Croatia are to meet in Geneva tomorrow. The mediator is U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. Ahead of his departure for Geneva, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, gave an interview to our TV in which he spoke about the policy that the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation will advocate at the meeting, and his expectations from the Geneva summit.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Adamir Jerkovic] Mr. President, Bosnia-Herzegovina was a frequent destination for foreign mediators over the past few days. There is a good reason for this—the implementation of the Dayton agreement has run into difficulties. Herzeg-Bosnia presents a particularly big problem. You are going to Geneva tomorrow to hold tough negotiations with the presidents of Serbia and Croatia. The host is Warren Christopher.

Of the many questions in which Bosnia-Herzegovina TV viewers are interested, the most interesting is most certainly the one that refers to a statement made yesterday by Ejup Ganic, vice president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, who invited all Croats to return to their homes.

[Izetbegovic] This is Ganic's idea. This is an idea that was examined in a close circle where it received everyone's support. I think that the idea is good; this will clearly show whether the Croat leadership is preventing the people from returning, or maybe that those are the people who are reluctant to return. We are convinced that the people wish to return. This is an anti-Boban process. By a Boban process I mean the expulsion of the population, calling on the Croats to leave their homes and go to Herzegovina, Mostar and so on.

This is aimed at reversing that process. Someone had to make that move. We are feeling strong enough to make that move. We are calling on the Croat population to unconditionally return to their homes. This would open the way for the Bosnian refugees to return to their homes in Mostar, Stolac, Livno, Capljina, Pocitelj, and so on.

[Jerkovic] It seems that past programs have not yielded results (?for Stolac).

[Izetbegovic] The starting point for this line of thinking was the fact that the pilot projects for the four towns—with the exception of Travnik—have failed. There are always some excuses, such as the Bosniaks cannot return because the Croats cannot return and no one can. There must be a beginning. And this is the beginning. We are of the view that everyone should return to their homes.

As you know, we are also of the view that people should vote in the places where they used to live, because this is the way to reintegrate Bosnia-Herzegovina. And an integral part of this is a return of all people to their homes, because it is a reverse process of ethnic cleansing. All those advocating a whole Bosnia-Herzegovina must adopt this view: That people should return to their homes. All those who reject the notion of return accept division of Bosnia.

[Jerkovic] Following all these recent talks in Sarajevo, such as the federation forum meeting, etc., are you an optimist?

[Izetbegovic] To speak truthfully, I am not a great optimist but I believe that we should continue to work. We should try to push things forward as far as we can. We should not give up. We should not [word indistinct] difficulties which arise, we should not become demoralized. We should believe in the idea of Bosnia and push things forward. [end recording]

B-H: Prlic Interviewed on Federation Forum

LD1308174896 Mostar Croatian Radio Herceg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We will devote a few more minutes to the meeting of the Federation Forum. Immediately after the meeting, our correspondent Milan Vega had a conversation with Dr. Jadranko Prlic, the foreign minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina:

[Begin recording] [...porter] Minister, there was an exceptionally important meeting in Sarajevo today about breathing life into the project of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. You were there and took part in the talks. Can you tell us the most important conclusions?

[Prlic] First, greetings to all listeners. The meeting was basically a continuation of the Federation Forum which began on Thursday and went on into Friday. An attempt was made to organize something similar over the weekend—mediator Roberts Owen and his team arrived on Saturday—but in fact we only got down to work yesterday.

This morning I was only at part of the talks—that part which related to foreign affairs. We resolved things here very quickly. We agreed that it was necessary to create an ethnic balance in the currently operating Bosnia-Herzegovina embassies abroad by 1 September.

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Otherwise, the talks, at least according to the ministers and the president and vice president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, were very difficult. I have some draft documents which have still not yet been agreed, and the negotiation process will probably resume this evening in Geneva. There are 16 main points in the annex, and there are 12 items in the agreed measures which constitute the basic documents. [as heard] [passage omitted]

[Reporter] When are you off to Geneva?

[Prlic] We take off at 1800. [Words indistinct] Sarajevo and we should arrive in Geneva at about 2000. [U.S. Secretary of State] Christopher will put on a reception for us, and we will try to resolve some of the contentious issues which remain unresolved. I would not like to go into detail now about which contentious issues these are. I can say that some Croat ministers were not satisfied with some of the formulations which appeared in this attempt to complete the documentation. But we will soon see how things turn out. I believe that to a significant extent, at least as far as I can see, this is a matter of having a balanced approach to these problems.

[Reporter] What do you expect tomorrow's meeting in Geneva to achieve?

[Prlic] Tomorrow's meeting in Geneva is taking place exactly one month before the elections—although the elections begin earlier in parts of those countries where our refugees and citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina are living. [passage omitted]

B-H: Muratovic Expects Accord on 'Dismantling' Herzeg-Bosnia

LD1308195296 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Following several days of U.S.-assisted talks, no agreement has been reached on the manner of and deadline for the transfer of powers to the federation. Here is a statement given to us by Republic Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic prior to his departure for Geneva.

[Begin Muratovic recording] For the past three days we have been preparing two documents. I believe that we have agreed on one, but the other, which specifies the manner in which the so-called Herzeg-Bosnia should be dismantled, still contains several contentious issues. I expect that we will clarify them.

We will discuss the elections and this issue, but this is the main topic. We expect that an agreement on dismantling of the so-called Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia will be signed. [end recording]

B-H: Silajdzic Warns of Serb Secession After Elections

LD1308174396 Sarajevo Radio Hajat in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Nine opposition parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina which have considered boycotting the September elections have concluded that conditions for holding elections in line with the Dayton agreement have not been met, and, consequently, fair and democratic elections cannot be held, Haris Silajdzic, chairman of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina, told a press conference today. He added that these nine parties will continue monitoring the situation and coordinating their stances on the issue. The failure to meet the basic conditions for holding elections has prompted the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina to join the parties considering the possibility of boycotting the elections.

According to Mr. Silajdzic, elections held under the existing conditions would not only fail to be fair and democratic, but would not achieve the ultimate goal of the Dayton agreement—a gradual achievement of democratic aims throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Dayton agreement's priority is the continuity of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which will be brought into question when the authorities in the majority Serb entity are legalized after the elections. Statements by officials and political party leaders from the Serb entity do not leave any doubt that after the elections they will opt for secession from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Silajdzic said.

He added that holding the elections under the existing conditions would amount to a complete triumph for Radovan Karadzic and the Serb Democratic Party, who cannot wait for 14 September to begin the process of secession, for which they need the elections and new authorities that will be set up after them. [passage omitted]

B-H: Silajdzic Opposes Elections Under Current Conditions

AU1308200096 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1745 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 13 August (BETA)—Haris Silajdzic, president of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina, has stated that if the refugees are enabled at the upcoming elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina to vote in the place where they are currently residing, this would represent a triumph of the Serb Democratic Party (SDS) and Radovan Karadzic.

Speaking at a news conference in Sarajevo today, Silajdzic told the journalists that there are 222,498 refugees in the Serb entity who want to vote in their

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new place of abode, and in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina there are 46,000. In other words, 10 percent of the total number of displaced persons has decided to vote in their the current place of abode.

If we accept this situation, we are going directly against the 90 percent of the people in the Federation who want to return to their homes, and are disqualifying them, Silajdzic said according to ONASA news agency.

"The statements by the officials and the representatives of the political parties in the Serb entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina do not leave any room for doubt that they will decide to secede from Bosnia-Herzegovina after the September elections," Silajdzic said. According to him, the OSCE has again not taken any measures "after these statements that violate the Dayton agreement." "This scenario is well known, and yet the elections are being approached without sanctions," the president of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina said. He concluded that one "should not rush with the elections as Bosnia-Herzegovina will become a divided country under the present conditions."

B-H: Possible Impact of Milosevic-Tudjman Talks on Bosnia

AU1408121796 Sarajevo JAVNOST (Bosnian Serb) in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 96 p 4

[Commentary by Zeljko Cvijanovic: "The Maestros of Dayton"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The presidents of Serbia and Croatia, Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman, marked the first anniversary of the fall of the Krajina in the Greek summer resort of Vulagmeni on Wednesday [7 August]. Milosevic pithily dubbed the results of the meeting as another "big step," while Tudjman was more effervescent and specific: The FRY will recognize Croatia in its post-World War II boundaries by 23 August.

Fine: The international factors will welcome the brave act of the Serbian president; the media in Belgrade will talk about yet another triumph of peace; in Vukovar the cost of truck transportation will rise; Milan Martic will add a new proverb to his belated rationalism, after July always comes August; the Muslims will nervously ask themselves whether Vulagmeni in Bosniak translates into Karadjordjevo, while in Pale and Banja Luka they will try to discern whether there is anything for them in the parcel wrapped up by their two treacherous allies.

The flair for dramatic performance would lead one to believe that everything was finalized in the Greek resort town. Not so. Tudjman firmly cemented his initial borders, while Milosevic cemented nothing, but he is just a little dearer to the hearts of the international community, if that means anything anymore. The question of what he got in return is not unavoidable, considering that after all, gallantry is his most edifying distinction.

What still remains, therefore, is Bosnia, a territory over which the two leaders have always easily found a common ground. But in the same way that Vulagmeni is not Karadjordjevo, 1996 is not 1991, when Milosevic and Tudjman met last to conduct bilateral talks.

In the meantime, of course, there was Dayton, which the Muslims signed hoping that it would help them to reintegrate Bosnia, the Croats acted as if it were all the same to them, while the Serbs signed with the fewest ambitions. The time between December and now has additionally changed the existing picture: The Muslims, realizing that they still had to work and learn a lot to achieve a unified Bosnia, became ardent opponents of the Dayton agreement; knowing well that a revision of the Dayton agreement could only be detrimental to them, in all their public appearances, the Serb Republic leaders have not failed to confirm their increasing devotion to the signatures given in Paris; while the Croats are the only ones that are consistent, it is still all the same to them, because, as recent events in Mostar showed, all of this does not really concern them.

Because they are loyal to Dayton, the leaders of the Serb Republic must now firmly stick with the president of Serbia whether they like it or not, even though in Milosevic they see a permanent danger for the existence of their state, because with or without his patriotic signature, Milosevic is a true maestro of Dayton. Only he knows all the underground passages of the U.S. Air Force Base. On the other hand—since he has manifested good relations with his wartime enemies Franjo Tudjman and Ejup Ganic within only a few weeks—Milosevic seems only now to comprehend all the exclusiveness of the Croatian indifference, because for the first time he is beginning to act in accordance with the notion that war and peace in Bosnia can have two winners and only one loser, and that it is enough to come in second. And then, he believes, it is not necessary to rush and run ahead; it is enough to reach a deal with the other sides in the war and avoid crossing the finish line last.

In other words, Milosevic is trying to worry the Croats by improving relations with the Muslims [preceding word published with a small "m"], as a result of which the Belgrade government press will make their "m" more and more capital. (A few days ago, in EKSPRES [POLITIKA], a certain soothsayer, Grandpa Miloje—it has still not been determined whether he advises Milosevic, or Milosevic him—had a vision in

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which all of Bosnia was in Yugoslavia, which is hard to rationalize in any way except as part of Ganic's concept of Yugoslavism.) At the same time, in Sarajevo, Milosevic and Tudjman are invoking the demon of Karadjordjevo by completely eradicating the problems that burden official Serb-Croat relations and exposing Bosnia as something they will manage to work out among themselves.

For the time being, Milosevic is keeping Pale—which has had enough of these suspicious dealings and combinations, since experience has taught them that so far everything has ended with NATO rockets over their heads—aside, fully appreciating the good aspects of their difficult position. And in the Bosnia of Dayton, the elections are approaching, and Tudjman's little gift in the form of the Prevlaka [isthmus in southern Dalmatia on the border with Montenegro] would fit in nicely with a campaign such as "a strip of bacon for every conscientious voter in the Serb Republic."

As maestro of Dayton, Milosevic knows one thing: The peace plan is in its deepest crisis, which, as soon as the election results have been announced, could result in a mutual charging by all three armies around the dumbfounded NATO troops. In Sarajevo, where they are facing an increasing number of unresolved issues of the Dayton and the earlier Washington agreements, there is a hidden spark of hope that their arming and training will resolve things in the dramatic course of events: If you drive a nail into the wall in the first act, someone is bound to get hooked on it in the last. Full of confidence that the Americans feel like going home, General Rasim Delic believes that after the "unsatisfactory elections," by spring at the latest, Washington will point out the candidates to be hooked on the nail, and they will entirely accidentally happen to be Serbs. Knowing this, the government of the Serb Republic has recently considered the state of its armed forces at its most recent session, held the same day that Milosevic and Tudjman were spending their summer vacation in Greece together.

Therefore, what Milosevic can get from Tudjman is a promise that he will step things up in Bosnia, not even waiting for the elections, in order to save Dayton, whose implementation will mostly determine the further political career of the Serbian president. The Muslims are being rushed too, because as soon as the elections are over, the respect Richard Holbrooke has for the signature of the Serb patriarch given on a document, will inevitably loose importance and all roads will go through Pale. This means that Momcilo Krajisnik will continue his campaign, which he began six years ago, of plucking the strings of Alija Izetbegovic's nerves in the joint presidency of the Union.

Be that as it may, the Dayton agreement can develop in three directions. First of all, we are talking about a "bad infinity," that could be the lengthy prelude to a division of Bosnia in half along the current ethnic borders, which would, as far as the Serb cause is concerned, strengthen Pale and weaken Belgrade. The second possible outcome is a sudden agreement of the two sides, which Milosevic is seriously counting on, in which not only the impatient international community, but also the Serb Republic leadership, would be faced with an accomplished fact that would put Dayton ad acta. The third possibility of getting out of the labyrinth of the United States' Wright-Patterson Airbase is a secret revision of the agreement, which would then have the same fate as the Vance plan for the Krajina and lead to a West-controlled military outcome, in which, according to plan, the Serbs would get the short end of the stick.

As far as the international community is concerned, its position, which will certainly affect all future decisions, has changed to the extent that before Dayton the basic question that the international community had asked itself was how to bail out the Muslims. Now that question looks quite different. So: What about the Muslims?

B-H: Croatia's Interest in Bosnian Elections Viewed

AU0908071096 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 7 Aug 96 p 1

[Commentary by Vinka Drezga: "The Bosnian Elections and the Croatian Interests"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The registration of Bosnian citizens who have the right to vote and will vote in the September elections was completed on Monday [5 August]. According to the processed data, more than 90 percent of the Bosnian citizens eligible to vote registered in numerous places in Croatia. Most of them are refugees who took shelter in Croatia during the past few years. One-tenth of the 110,000 voters with temporary residence in Croatia announced that they would vote in Bosnia-Herzegovina personally.

The Croatian coordination of the Bosnian elections seems to have fulfilled its task, regardless that the registration period was not extended as had been suggested. Good preparation is a stipulation for successful elections. However, the most important part of the electoral procedure will actually begin after the elections.

The democratic elections will finally mark the beginning of the peacetime activities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, primarily the establishment of the basic state institutions. A genuine state cannot consist of territory and

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population only; it must also have the political power: A parliament, a government, and positive laws according to which it will function. These are the propositions of the Dayton agreement, anyway. These are also the interests of the Croats, both in Croatia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

By their participation in the Bosnian elections, the Bosnian Croats will prove themselves to be a constitutional element of our neighboring state and earn the legitimate right to be equal in making decisions after the elections. Moreover, the Croats—especially the persons from the part of Bosnia-Herzegovina outside the Federation—will show that they have not forsaken their people.

Naturally, as Bosnia-Herzegovina consolidates itself and gradually loosens its ties with the global forces that are practically keeping it alive at the moment, the international profile of Croatia will become more elaborated. Once it is freed of the ball and chain that Bosnia-Herzegovina has been, Croatia will approach the desired euro-atlantic integrations at a much quicker pace. The question of how a state consisting of two or three entities will survive in the future if it did not manage to survive in the past is a wholly different problem. The Americans have apparently embarked on solving that enigma. The only hope that we have left is that it will remain important to them after the presidential elections in the United States.

B-H: Steiner Announces Meeting of Entities' Prime Ministers

AU1308194896 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1836 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 13 August (BETA)—At a regular session of the mixed civilian committee of the western part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Michael Steiner, deputy of the high representative for Bosnia-Herzegovina, this evening blamed the leaders of both entities and all three sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina for failing to fulfill their obligations from the civilian part of the Dayton agreement.

Steiner made this harsh assessment because of the temporary suspension of exhumation in both entities, obstruction of the freedom of movement between the entities, lack of conditions for the return of refugees and displaced persons, and some other "seemingly banal issues," such as the establishment of telephone lines between the two entities.

"It appears that some people in the leadership of these two entities do not like the fact that people want to hear from each other and to exchange views," Steiner concluded.

He gave a "very high mark" to the session of the mixed committee. He said that the readiness of the local leaders, heads of the entities' municipalities, to start talks on economic cooperation was encouraging.

Next week, businessmen from the Serb Republic and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation will meet under the auspices of the high representative.

"These people understand that there can be no real peace without the revival of economic cooperation, and that every form of cooperation must start with one's closest neighbor, that is, the municipality from the other entity, then the neighboring state, and finally with the rest of Europe and the world," Steiner said.

It has been agreed, Steiner said, that the prime ministers of the two entities meet in Sarajevo next week on Sunday to agree on the continuation of exhumation. "We must settle this issue as soon as possible so that we can continue preparations for the September election without any additional burden," Steiner said.

B-H: Democratic National Union Sends Open Letter to OSCE

AU1408120096 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 12 Aug 96 p 2

[Open letter from the DNZ to the OSCE: "DNZ: We Are Not Allowed To Conduct Any Preelection Activities"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb—The Democratic National Union [DNZ], one of the parties that have entered the parliamentary elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina, sent an open letter to OSCE on 11 August. The letter follows:

"In light of the recent events in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and especially the numerous aggravated violations of the Dayton peace agreements, we consider it to be our duty to warn the OSCE and the entire democratic world that the situation on the eve of the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina is alarming. It is likely to bring about unfavorable consequences for the Dayton peace agreement and a complete breakdown of the peace process in these regions.

"The DNZ is an open civic party, and its program espouses the implementation of the Washington and Dayton peace agreements as well as the establishment of lasting peace and security in Bosnia-Herzegovina and wider environs. The DNZ therefore decided to enter the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina to get the opportunity to participate in solving the vital issues in Bosnia-Herzegovina and its constitutional nations in an atmosphere of democratic dialogue, in the best tradition of the modern democratic world, and according to the results achieved in those elections.

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"However, the actual political and security situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and especially in the regions controlled by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, does not allow the DNZ to conduct the minimal preelection activities necessary to present the program and goals of our party to the body of voters. That procedure is a prerequisite condition for fair elections.

"We are not granted a minimum of freedom of movement, media presentations, political activities, meetings, or speeches. Political and other kinds of terrorizing in the regions controlled by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, which are aimed at the DNZ in particular, and which are accompanied by misuse of the media and with the state being identified with the party in power, the SDA [Party of Democratic Action], have resulted in the DNZ being able to conduct only illegal activities in the Muslim entity. We consider that situation to be unacceptable.

"We would like to stress that our activists have been exposed to threats, intimidation, and severe physical abuse, and that it has become impossible for us to organize political rallies.

"We consider the described situation to be a serious violation of the Dayton peace agreement on the part of the Sarajevo authorities. We consider the party in power to be responsible for that, especially as the actions of its leaders show that they oppose the further progress of the peace process.

"Therefore, we entreat the OSCE to act in accordance with the Dayton agreement and take the necessary actions, with the help of IFOR, and provide the minimum conditions for the election campaign and the participation of the DNZ in that campaign. The DNZ received a greater number of support signatures than any other party that has entered the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"We invite the entire peace-loving democratic world to give active diplomatic support to creating the prerequisite democratic conditions for the election campaign and the elections. We entreat you do do this for the sake of peace, security, and prosperity in the regions of the tormented Bosnia-Herzegovina," said the letter, which was signed by Fikret Abdic, DNZ chairman.

B-H: Joint List: Brcko Issue Decisive for Country's Future

AU1308113996 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 96 p 9

[Report by A. Hasic on statement by the Joint List coalition; place and date not given: "Brcko Decisive for the Future of Bosnia-Herzegovina"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tuzla—The improvisational attitude of the OSCE and the Bosnia-Herzegovina government is keeping around 60,000 voters in Brcko from participating in the elections. The current situation in that city, as well as the forced settlement of Serb citizens, are making the arbitration senseless and potential elections irregular. Such is the position of the Joint List, which called a meeting to discuss with OSCE representatives and international observers the Brcko arbitration and to present once again the demands with regard to this city.

The invited international observers and the OSCE representatives did not show up at the meeting and did not offer any explanation why.

The Joint List branch in Tuzla-Podrinje Canton believes the belated designation of the international arbiter for Brcko, uncertainties about what the arbitrage will bring, and also threats by the Serb side, which is not excluding the use of arms to maintain their "Serb Brcko," do not seem to concern anybody. It is surprising that Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities seem to have forgotten that the Brcko issue is decisive for the future of the whole country. In this regard, the Joint List demands that the legal Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities:

—treat the Brcko issue, in all their political contacts with the international community, including the peace missionaries Kornblum and Holbrook, as decisive for the country's future;

—acknowledge the factual demographic structure reflected by the 1991 census and treat it as the unquestionable condition for the arbitrage;

—not abandon the interests of those Brcko citizens whose only desire is to return to their homes.

At the same time it is demanded that the OSCE consider the possibility of postponing local elections in Brcko municipality until the arbitrage is complete. Furthermore, it is demanded that only the votes of people who lived in Brcko in 1991 be regarded as legitimate.

The Joint List warns that if these demands are not met, it is possible that the situation in this city will become further complicated, a situation for which not only

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the current, yielding authorities but the international institutions will be directly responsible.

B-H: Public Prosecutor Says Abdic May Face Death Penalty

AU1308171896 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 13 August (BETA)—Suljo Basic, republic public prosecutor of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has stated that Fikret Abdic could face the death penalty for the criminal acts of which he has been accused.

"A death sentence could be given for the acts of war crimes against civilians and crimes against prisoners of war. The least severe sentence could be 10 years imprisonment," Basic said in an interview in DNEVNI AVAZ today.

As ONASA reports, the Higher Public Prosecutor's Office in Bihac filed charges against Abdic on 8 August this year. During the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, he fought against the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

B-H: OSCE's Cotti Has 'Deep Doubts' About Election Climate

AU1408134396 Paris AFP in English 1323 GMT 14 Aug 96

[Report by Robert MacPherson]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Aug 14 (AFP)—With the Bosnian elections just one month away, the head of the European security group charged with organizing the polls cast serious doubt Wednesday on how free and fair they will turn out to be. "The overall climate has obviously grown tense since the election campaign has started," said Flavio Cotti, chairman of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). "Freedom of movement is not guaranteed, the return of refugees is still being hampered, and the attempts to create ethnically pure states continues to prevail," he said in a statement. Cotti, who is also Switzerland's foreign minister, expressed his tough views during a meeting with the presidents of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia and US Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

Under the Dayton peace accords that ended the war in the former Yugoslav republic, general elections are to be held on September 14 in what is supposed to be an ethnically reunited Bosnia-Herzegovina. The OSCE is responsible for organizing the vote, but Cotti has always been skeptical about how free and fair such elections can be, less than a year after the end of the three-and-a-half-year Bosnian conflict. His statement in Geneva indicated that he still had deep doubts. Progress had been made, he said, on extending press freedoms, and voter registration so far has been "encouraging." The fact that two-thirds of the estimated 900,000 refugees eligible to vote have registered was "a clear sign" of their will to cast their ballots, he said.

But he said his "greatest concern" was for freedom of movement—in effect, the ability of voters to get to the polling stations without hindrance or intimidation—to be guaranteed. "Frequent cases of ethnically and politically based intimidation, evictions and violence have been reported" in both the Moslem-Croat federation and the Bosnian Serb entity which together make up Bosnia-Herzegovina, he said. "I expect in all earnest that the parties to the peace agreement assure that voters who intend to cast their ballots at their places of origin be able to do so," he said.

Cotti's concern came as an international monitoring group in Sarajevo called for next month's poll to be postponed, arguing that conditions for holding the vote had not been met. "Conditions for holding elections have not been met and...in many respects they have deteriorated," the International Crisis Group said in a report issued in Sarajevo and London. Cotti was also disturbed by reports that officials had been "manipulating or intimidating voters" during the registration period.

News on July 18 that Bosnian Serb strongman and indicted war-crimes suspect Radovan Karadzic was giving up all his political activities was "an important step forward," the chairman stated. "Nevertheless, it is imperative that the indicted war criminals be prevented from exercising any influence whatsoever on the election process," Cotto declared. There was still an "obligation," he said, to extradite Karadzic, his military commander Ratko Mladic and other war crimes suspects to The Hague for trial before the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia.

B-H: OSCE Rejects Croatian Serbs' Demand To Vote in Elections

AU1208124996 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1945 GMT 10 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 10 August (BETA)—The OSCE mission's electoral appeals subcommission, which is responsible for supervising the September elections in Bosnia, rejected today a complaint filed by the Association of Serbs Expelled From the Former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia demanding that its members be allowed to vote in the September elections in the Serb Republic.

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The Association groups Serbs displaced from Croatia after the breakup of the SFRY, as well as those who fled after Operations Flash and Storm, in which the Croatian Army attacked the Republic of Serb Krajina. The Association claims it represents the interests of around 60,000 people.

In the complaint submitted to the appeals subcommission, the Association demanded that its members, particularly those who "have exchanged real property and settled in the Serb Republic, be allowed to participate in the elections on 14 September."

In its decision, the appeals subcommission expresses "understanding for the positions of those who are victims of ethnic cleansing...and deeply regrets that it cannot alleviate their suffering by entitling them to vote in the elections on 14 September."

Dissatisfied with the decision, the Association has announced it will appeal to the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

According to the data presented by the Association, more than 90,000 Serbs from Croatia now reside in the Serb Republic, 60,000 of which are in Banja Luka and the surrounding area.

B-H: 'Sources' Claim Plavsic To Relieve Mladic of Post

AU1408121396 Belgrade DNEVNI TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 14 Aug 96 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Is General Mladic Going?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Han Pijesak—General Radko Mladic will resign as commander of the Serb Republic [RS] Armed Forces, DNEVNI TELEGRAF has learned from sources close to IFOR.

During yesterday's inspection of the second Serb munitions depot in Han Pijesak, RS acting President Biljana Plavsic seems to have given in to pressure from NATO chief Javier Solana to relieve indicted war criminal Gen. Mladic of his duties as army commander, thus preempting the possibility of using his position to influence the course of the election campaign in the RS, DNEVNI TELEGRAF has learned.

DNEVNI TELEGRAF journalists were present at the talks at one of the IFOR bases when the commander was on the phone to a colleague in another base discussing Mladic's removal and the consequences for political developments in the RS and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Sources close to the RS Army General Staff have told DNEVNI TELEGRAF that in the past two days, the army leadership has been under tremendous pressure to relieve Gen. Ratko Mladic of his duties as commander of the VRS [Serb Republic Army] General Staff.

The same sources claim that Gen. Mladic must be removed today, when Geneva talks between Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Franjo Tudjman, Slobodan Milosevic, and Alija Izetbegovic are scheduled to take place.

The sources add that if Mladic is not removed, there is a possibility of sanctions being imposed on the FRY.

B-H: Mladic Reportedly Offered as Guide for NATO Unit

AU1408110796 Paris AFP in English 1054 GMT 14 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 14 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb war crimes suspect General Ratko Mladic was offered over the weekend as a tour guide for a small NATO unit sent to inspect the Serb army headquarters site, a top NATO officer said here Wednesday. Bosnian Serb army chiefs told a NATO inspection team Saturday they could inspect Serb army headquarters only if they accepted Mladic, the Bosnian Serb army commander, "as their guide," NATO General John Sylvester said.

Sylvester, under questioning from reporters, said the Serbs had told the seven-strong team sent by NATO to inspect the headquarters at Han Pijesak, a few miles (kilometres) northeast of here, they could only inspect the site in Mladic's presence. "They did say 'if you go any further, you go with Mladic,'" Sylvester said here. "We said we don't inspect with conditions," the US army general said.

Asked if he accepted that NATO troops had been informed of the presence of Mladic, a suspected war criminal, at the site Saturday, Sylvester said he did. However, he said it would not have been "prudent" for the seven-strong team to attempt to carry out an arrest, surrounded as they were by "two to three hundred armed men who have sworn to defend him." "He was not just being given to us," Sylvester said.

The commander of NATO ground troops in Bosnia, Lieutenant-General Michael Walker on Tuesday did eventually inspect the Serb army command bunker in Han Pijesak, in the company of acting Bosnian Serb president Biljana Plavsic. He did not see Mladic, Sylvester said. In between the two visits, the NATO-led force did not maintain a close watch over the site to determine whether Mladic had left, NATO spokesman Major Brett Boudreau said Tuesday.

Mladic has been indicted twice by the UN war crimes tribunal in The Hague on charges of war crimes,

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crimes against humanity, and genocide, for his part in orchestrating some of the worst atrocities in western Europe in 50 years. Along with the ousted Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, Mladic is currently one of the two most wanted criminal suspects in the world.

B-H: BBC Interviews Bosnian Serb Leader Plavsic

LD1408093596 London BBC 1 Television Network in English 2000 GMT 13 Aug 96

[Video report by correspondent Nicholas Witchell in Bosnia-Herzegovina for the "Nine O'Clock News"; passages in quotation marks recorded]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Video shows still of Acting Bosnian Serb President Biljana Plavsic] Her reputation is that of a Bosnian Serb politician whose bloodthirsty nationalism made Radovan Karadzic look reasonable. Now she is president in his place and helping to resolve crises rather than create them.

Today she was side by side with a British general inspecting the disputed Bosnian Serb military base at Han Pijesak and later side by side with an American admiral expressing support for the Dayton agreement.

Yet this former professor of biochemistry has been called a warmonger and described as the Bosnian Serb angel of death.

The truth, she told me, was just that she believed in the destiny of the Serb people. She believes that eventually—and she hopes peacefully—the Bosnian Serbs will have their own country. Bosnia as it was can never exist again.

[Plavsic] "Reintegration of Republika Srbska cannot exist."

[Witchell] And what of the man whose face can still be seen on posters all over Pale, her predecessor Dr. Radovan Karadzic. Mrs. Plavsic denies that he is still in control.

[Plavsic] "Let us say that there is no reason to consult him."

[Witchell] "But do you consult him?"

[Plavsic] "No. It is completely clear that it is impossible to rule me."

[Witchell] Little is seen of Dr. Karadzic now, yet he is close by, living in a rarely seen and heavily guarded house just outside Pale. The West continues to hope that Serbia's president Slobodan Milosevic will deliver him to justice.

[Plavsic] "I do not think so. No, no, I do not think so. What, it is disgusting, because as we know, and also Mr. Milosevic, Karadzic is not guilty."

[Witchell] Biljana Plavsic is pretty much a certainty to be confirmed as president of Republika Srpska in next month's national elections. She denies that she is influenced by the policies of her predecessor, but the political agenda of the Bosnian Serbs remains essentially the same—to make Republika Srpska as separate as possible from the rest of Bosnia.

B-H: Plavsic Stresses Respecting Dayton Accord

LD1308193596 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Prof. Biljana Plavsic, vice president and acting president of the Serb Republic, has had talks with Vice Admiral Joseph Lopez, commander of IFOR forces in the Serb Republic and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. The meeting discussed the implementation of the Dayton agreement. Dr. Plavsic, together with senior officers of the Serb Republic Army and the peacekeeping forces, visited a military depot in Han Pijesak.

[Correspondent] Prof. Biljana Plavsic said the day has been successful. She said she visited the headquarters of the Bosnian Serb Army in Han Pijesak, where an inspection was carried out. [passage omitted]

Assessing the two days of meetings and talks with IFOR representatives, Biljana Plavsic said this after her meeting with Vice Admiral Lopez:

[Begin Plavsic recording] I have to say that the Dayton agreement has to be respected in this aspect, too [as heard]. We need to understand as soon as possible that this is the situation and that this is the reality. We will try to rapidly respect these obligations, and in this way we will avoid conflict. What I am saying is in the interests of the Serb people. I believe that this is the lesson now for all sides: Work can be done in a correct manner. This is part of the Dayton agreement. The Dayton agreement is not an entirely happy outcome for us, but in this situation it really is the only solution. We have to (?respect) what has been signed. [end recording]

B-H: Poll Shows Most Support for SDS, Plavsic in RS

AU1308205196 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Aug 96 p 2

[Article by V. Djordjevic: "SDS and Plavsic Ahead of Everybody"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—According to an opinion poll published in Bijeljina EKSTRA MAGAZIN, acting RS [Serb Republic] President Biljana Plavsic has the greatest chances in the September elections. Supporting her were 27.4 percent of people polled,

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while 21.5 percent would vote for Predrag Radic, presidential candidate of the DPB [Democratic Patriotic Bloc]. Zivko Radisic, president of the Socialist Party of the RS, occupies the third place with 17.5 percent of votes. According to the same poll, the most popular party in the RS is the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] for which 41.5 percent of pollees would vote, while only 14.5 percent would vote for the Alliance for Peace and Progress [SMIP], and 11.5 percent for Seselj's Radicals [Serbian Radical Party]. According to this opinion poll, RS Assembly Chairman Momcilo Krajisnik would receive 28.5 percent of the votes for the post of the RS representative in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, while SMIP candidate Dr. Mladen Ivanic would receive 23.5 percent.

The poll that was conducted in a dozen towns in the RS clearly shows a rightward tilt on the part of the RS electorate. Proving this is also the sudden popularity of the Serbian Radical Party (last month it won half this number of the votes).

The SDS still enjoys the strongest support in places where tension is still felt (Brcko), while opposition parties may expect to get a "chance" in Banja Luka and Bijeljina (particularly in the wake of the events with the—Bijeljina—SIM Radio and Television).

B-H: Plavsic on 'Very Successful' Talks With IFOR Commander

LD1308173996 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1654 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 13 Aug (SRNA)—Biljana Plavsic, the vice president and acting president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, described today's contacts with Ifor [Implementation Force] representatives as very successful.

"We had a very successful day today during the inspection visit to the [Bosnian] Serb Republic Army's main headquarters," Plavsic said after a meeting with Vice Admiral Joseph Lopez, the Ifor commander, in Pale.

The vice president and acting Serb Republic president said she believed that cooperation with NATO representatives would be good in the future too.

"When we meet more often, the chances of undesirable situations which we saw over the past few days arising again are smaller," she explained.

Thanking Plavsic for cooperation, the Ifor commander confirmed that the inspection of Han Pijesak today was very successful.

Describing it as "a positive step toward reducing tensions," Vice Admiral Lopez said he hoped such cooperation would continue. [passage omitted]

B-H: Plavsic Discusses Candidacy, SDS Goals

AU1308200696 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1840 GMT 12 Aug 96

[Studio interview with Biljana Plavsic, acting Serb Republic president and SDS candidate for president of the Serb Republic, and Dragoljub Mirjanic, SDS candidate for vice president of the Serb Republic, by Marica Lalovic on the "Elections '96" program—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Lalovic] Good evening. As always on Mondays, the Serb Television Elections '96 program presents presidential candidates. Our guests tonight are Mrs. Biljana Plavsic, Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] candidate for president of the Serb Republic, and Mr. Dragoljub Mirjanic, SDS candidate for vice president of the Serb Republic. Good evening and welcome. [passage omitted] Our audience knows the rules, you know the rules. The first 10 minutes belong to you. Mrs. Plavsic, you are a candidate for Serb Republic president. What do you think about that position and what do you think will be your main functions and goals if you are elected president of the Serb Republic?

[Plavsic] We are no longer at war, and there are several priorities. I will talk about the most important one. First of all, we must see that the president takes up the position that is assigned to him by the Constitution. Let me explain. During the war, in specific circumstances—in addition to the authority given to him by the Constitution and his peacetime activities—the president often had to perform some functions that are usually performed by the government or the parliament and make certain decisions, because the times called for that.

I would like to return the activities of the president to the framework of the Constitution, i.e. that the president should make decisions within his or her constitutional authority, that the president should coordinate the activities of government bodies, make decisions when and if he or she is ordered to do so by the National Assembly, that the president should avoid an intermingling of authority, present the Serb Republic, and act as the supreme commander of the Serb Republic Army. I hope I did not miss anything.

Moreover, the president must cooperate closely with the member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency from the Serb Republic and, of course, with the vice president of the Serb Republic.

As for my vision of the Serb state, the Serb Republic in peacetime, I must first say that the state and the

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people in it must be confident of the safety of its borders, its territorial integrity. Security, the safety of both people and their property must be raised to the highest level. We want a strong state. That does not only imply a state with a strong army and strong police. That primarily implies the strengthening of government institutions. Those institutions must perform their functions as specified by the Constitution and the law. People working in those institutions must be highly professional, unbiased, and must receive adequate remuneration for their services, but they must also be rigorously punished if they fail to perform.

I believe the state... the Serb Republic must quickly approach the sources of capital that will enable economic reconstruction of the state, immediately injecting capital into major economic aggregates [kapitalni privredni agregati] and later into all others as well. The money coming from various funds must be steered toward solving the problems of refugees, not only by giving them accommodation, but by giving them jobs and integrating them into normal life. We must develop firm criteria taking social status into account, giving priority to soldiers, the families of dead soldiers, and disabled veterans.

[Lalovic] Mr. Mirjanic, you are a member of the same party, an SDS candidate. I believe you agree with Mr. Plavsic. Could you supplement her vision and tell us how you intend to deal with certain things if you are elected vice president?

[Mirjanic] First of all, I will strictly follow the laws, the Constitution of the Serb Republic, and will try to make a contribution to the development and independence of the Serb Republic as a national state. We believe the process calls for the use of democratic means. Furthermore, we want to revitalize agriculture and farming, rehabilitate science and technology following the Western models, and reform the school system and health services. [Passage omitted]

That can be done on the basis of a fund that will promote childbirth, the so-called childbirth fund, and we will be able to realize that if we complete privatization as planned by the law on privatization. I simply feel uncomfortable listening to the objections to the act of privatization and privatization law, but we know that if we want to attract foreign capital, privatization is a must, and we will have to do it at all cost.

Furthermore, we must care about the families of the dead, disabled veterans, and other war victims, as well as of our pensioners who shared the burden of the war. We simply must take more care of the old.

[Lalovic] Mrs. Plavsic, you are the vice president of the Serb Republic and the acting Serb Republic president, as well as the SDS candidate for the Serb Republic president at the September elections. In other words, there is a continuity in politics—I think our viewers will find this question very interesting—in the Serb Republic now on 12 August and the Serb Republic on 15 September, from the viewpoint of your present function as vice president and from the viewpoint of future president, if you are elected.

[Plavsic] Let me first say that all of us eagerly await the elections. Election day, 14 September, will be a hard day, for various reasons. Every one of us must help create an as peaceful as possible, democratic climate, so that people can go to the polls and calmly decide whom to give power to for the next two years. These are not regular elections. They are unlike routine elections that are organized in other countries every four years. I therefore underline that these elections are crucial for the Serb Republic. After the elections, the Serb Republic will be verified and legalized as a state, as an entity within Bosnia-Herzegovina in keeping with the Dayton accord, with a large percentage of sovereignty, almost over 80 percent, I dare say, in the most important domains. A nation that thinks, that cares about its destiny—and its destiny is certain and safe only within the national state of the Serb Republic—must go to the polls, legalize the state, and eliminate much of the blackmail presently directed toward the Serb Republic. We will then emerge as a competent factor in the participation of capital [participacija kapitala] as well as in all other aspects of life. Consequently, these are not ordinary elections. They are crucial for the destiny of the Serb nation. I urge the Serbs to think twice before entrusting someone with a state for which so many soldiers died, so many people left their homes, and so many people were subjected to terrible trauma. However, if we know exactly why that happened—and, in the next two years, the state must show how much it is indebted to such sacrifice by the people—if we take the right way. [sentence as heard] Just like a child learning to walk, if it learns to make the right steps in the first couple of days with some help, you can let it go later on without fearing that it will fall.

[Lalovic] One of our viewers who called one of the previous programs said that we should take these elections as a plebiscite. Could you comment on that?

[Plavsic] I think the man is right.

[Lalovic] Let me first read a couple of questions from our viewers before returning to the main subject. A caller from Zvornik asks: Will the Serb Republic have a professional and paid army of the Serb Republic?

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[Plavsic] I did not manage to list all of the priorities I mentioned at the beginning, but the Serb Republic must have as many soldiers as planned by the Dayton accord. We should not worry about the quantity, it is the quality of the army that matters. The state is already making a sizable investment in a program for training the army. We have good officers. I hope that ours will be the best soldiers in the world, loved and accepted by its people, and that the people will respect the authority of men and women in uniform.

[Lalovic] Mirjana of Bijeljina has a question for both of you: If you win and come to power, will you still tolerate high-ranking state officials remaining in the Serb Republic as guest workers, since their families are in Yugoslavia?

[Plavsic] Would you like me to say something about that? That is absolutely impossible in peacetime.

[Lalovic] What do you think, Mr. Mirjanic?

[Mirjanic] I agree, that is quite normal. Let me just say that, last September, when there was a crisis in the Banja Luka region, my wife and my two sons were in Banja Luka all the time. In other words, those who wish to articulate the needs of their people must live among the people, their families included.

[Lalovic] Branko of Banja Luka and Biljana Jankovic of Bijeljina have a question for Mrs. Plavsic. The Labor Relations Act gives directors almost absolute power. What will the state do to protect workers?

[Plavsic] Social policy is a very important and sensitive area. The rights of the workers will be protected by law. Our social policy will see to it there are no needy, abandoned, or forgotten people, i.e. people who want but are unable to work. However, we must retain a sense of proportion and discourage laziness. We know what happened in the communist regime. For the most part, communism failed in the world and here because it encouraged laziness, both directly and indirectly. Those who want to work, workers who work well, will be paid well. People must forget the practice of the past 45 years, when they were paid little no matter how much they worked. We know that does not work and we must change now.

[Passage omitted]

[Plavsic] As I said, we now have to deal with the economic reconstruction of the state. If we get the capital... [changes thought] the approach to capital is imperative, regardless of where it comes from. I must say that many Serb expatriates are interested in helping us, and I believe that the international community will also keep its promise—the Serb Republic will be a big construction site. We have a relatively large territory in proportion to our population. There will be a shortage of workers, not a surplus, as the lady said.

As for the municipal authorities, they acquired such habits during the war. There is no need to explain that municipalities helped frontline units and did much to retain a minimum of economic activity to help the people and the army survive. I admit and realize, but dare say it is normal that, in those efforts, some municipality officials abused their position, creating small empires, as it were. We must forget that period. We will assess the capability of the municipal bodies to solve the problem of refugees—or the accommodation of refugees to be precise—together with the state. The treatment of veterans, the families of dead soldiers.... If they do not meet those terms and some other criteria outside this domain, the municipal authorities will be replaced. They do not have a lifetime mandate.

[Lalovic] Mr. Mirjanic, you wanted to add something?

[Mirjanic] I just wanted to complement the vice president and say that we are not closed up and that we want to cooperate with the world. Our geographical position and culture make us a part of the developed part of Europe and the world. However, we cannot become a part of the developed world and Europe by begging for their nuclear waste and pollution-creating technologies, but only by working, thinking, and developing.

[Passage omitted]

[Lalovic] We have another caller on the air.

[Plavsic] I am fully aware of the situation regarding our disabled veterans. I had very many contacts with them in the four years of war. I know about the problems they are faced with as a result of their disability. We must never allow that! Because I had such direct contacts with the disabled and I am aware of their problems, I will never allow that. Their dignity must be on a high level, and the state must not allow anyone with money to put them down without the respect for their sacrifice. That is out of the question!

[Lalovic] You are saying that the state will build the mechanism for their protection?

[Plavsic] Absolutely.

[Passage omitted]

[Plavsic] I am glad to see that, in spite of your personal tragedy, you stayed in the region and are taking an interest in the global situation. You made a good choice with the SDS. As for your problem, if you really have valid documentation but still suffer from legal

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obstructions, come to the Banja Luka office of the presidency and we will talk about it.

[Passage omitted]

[Mirjanic] It is no secret that we had intraparty elections and that we took a secret vote to come up with the best people for certain functions. [passage omitted] Most of our candidates are prominent in economy, science, and culture.

[Passage omitted]

[Plavsic] Mr. Tesic's questions show that his reasoning is wise and patriotic. Let me say something about the SDS as a movement. The 1990 elections showed that it is a true Serb, national, and democratic movement. The fact that about 98 percent, if I am not mistaken, of people voted for the SDS best describes what people want. Then came the war and the years of war passed on the national wave [as heard], with people defending their lives, their families, their country, but also fighting and dying for the national state, deeply aware that only a national Serb state can provide security and economic prosperity for the Serbs and never again allow genocide against the Serbs. The SDS functioned like that until we froze the party function [stranacka funkcija]. [sentence as heard] Many parties appeared. We knew that we did not want the elections immediately after the war. Our intention coincided with the Dayton accord. And then the SDS had to be reorganized as a party, no longer as a movement. Just like in 1990, the SDS is the last national party founded on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ] and the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] existed long before the SDS was founded. The same is happening now: The SDS became active, organizing itself as a party, only when we saw what other parties appeared here.

What can the SDS do as a party, and what can it offer to the Serb nation? To what extent can it protect the interests of the Serb nation in peacetime? The SDS never had a chance to show that! The period after the multiparty elections was marked by vigorous political struggle and resistance on the part of the Serb representatives to the Croat-Muslim coalition. That was an everyday struggle and, since they would not be persuaded to solve the problem by political means, it came to war. They wanted to turn the Serbs into a Bosnia-Herzegovina minority. The war came. The SDS organized the people as best as it could in the circumstances. As a matter of fact, the SDS did not have a month of peace after the elections to show what it can do. This is a postwar period in which the international community is calling the shots. These are not normal times, but we hope that, after the elections, the SDS will face the people and show what it is capable of doing, as it never had the chance to do it.

About the law on soldiers—it would take too long to explain it at great length—but I would like to say the following. There are associations of soldiers in municipalities, almost every town has one. We think this is a very important problem, and the fact is that we want to see all those associations united into an alliance of soldiers that will have committees for families of dead soldiers, disabled veterans, etc. The alliance will be founded by the municipality and will act at the level of the republic, which means that its problems are taken very seriously by the state and that the state has big plans and good intentions to solve them as best it can. The constituent assembly of the alliance will be held toward the end of August.

[Lalovic] We will ask Mr. Mirjanic to talk about privatization, but let us not forget the question about Brcko.

[Plavsic] Yes.

[Mirjanic] Mr. Tesic is right about privatization. The previous system kept inventing new models that were never tested anywhere else in the world. That characterized us as a nation. For the first time, we took something that has been well checked-out in the world: the famous Czech model, which works well. That is the way we should do things; look up to the modern world and copy what works well, considering our specific characteristics as well. Furthermore, I agree with Mr. Tesic that it is no secret our country is in a very serious situation, that it is ravaged and impoverished by the war. However, the issue here is: Do we have a right to lose our state? We must do everything to help it survive, to exist. When we preserve it, together with all patriotic forces, we will make it better and richer. Many nations in the world dream of keeping their borders. Over 20 nations throughout the world dream that dream. Thanks to many young lives that were lost defending the country, we now have a chance to test that border, to verify it in the elections. We will never get another chance to do that. This is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. The Dayton accord gave us the border. It was conceived as a line drawn in the sand, and the first breath of air could straighten the border. We must do everything to keep it firm as if carved in stone. Just as the former Yugoslavia's republican administrative borders became state borders, we must do everything to make that border into a real border.

[Lalovic] Mrs. Plavsic, the issue of Brcko is often—and probably unintentionally—interpreted as an issue of the town of Brcko. You recently met with representatives of the international community and know the latest on

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the matter. The town of Brcko was never controversial, not even in the Dayton accord. I therefore ask you—as vice president and acting president of the Serb Republic, as well as a candidate for a very important function—to tell us about that segment, that part of the Serb Republic territory.

[Plavsic] We are determined to implement the Dayton accord and demand that others, particularly the authors of the accord, also implement it, as it is our duty to do so. The Dayton accord never mentions arbitration for the town of Brcko. It talks about arbitration about the interentity border [medjuentitetska granica] in the area of Brcko. Our interentity border is a very long one, 1,500 km if I am not mistaken. The agreement had to specify which section of the border is controversial. That is why it talks about an interentity border in the Brcko area.

Indeed, even those who should not do so, even the creators of the Dayton accord, very often talk about sessions of the Brcko arbitration committee. Very competent people say that. Mr. Owen, who is the third arbiter in the committee, says that. Many representatives of the international community say that, so that is why even we sometimes say that. I urge everyone to stick to the terminology of the Dayton accord. Brcko is not controversial, the interentity border is controversial. Whether the area will retain its present width, which I believe is 6 km.... [changes thought] We demanded 20 km in Dayton, and that could not be resolved there. And the Dayton accord says: If an agreement on arbitration is not reached, we will retain the status quo.

The other day, Mr. Krajisnik and I met with Mr. Kornblum, and he had a list of our violations of the Dayton accord. I told him: Let me show you where you, the architects of the Dayton accord, have violated the peace agreement. I showed him an invitation for a committee session which says Brcko arbitration and warned that this is not a term used by the Dayton accord. They admitted that. I said that terminology is very important and urged them to stick to it, and then Mr. Owen, the third member of the arbitration committee, said: I accept your remark. The next time we meet, I will give you my card that will say: Member of the committee for the interentity border in the Brcko area. Asked why they did not do that earlier, he said it was easier to use a shorter term. They did not just want to use a shorter term, but that was just one of our objections. We must admit our mistakes, but also tell them about their violations of the Dayton accord.

[Lalovic] We have many questions for you, but let us first listen to a caller who has been waiting for a long time. You are on the air.

[Teic] Good evening, my name is Milan Teic, national deputy from Tuzla, presently in Bijeljina. I would like to ask the following question. Two years ago, we were offered the Contact Group peace plan as the starting point for negotiations. I emphasize that it was a starting point. Mrs. Plavsic, at that time, you were resolutely against the negotiations with the world, although we had 70 percent of the territory. After that, we lost the Krajina and 10 Serb municipalities in the Banja Luka krajina. Something else happened later on: The SDS was no longer a party standing for the will of the people, but represented that which merely happened to the people and, in my opinion, admitted that it was incompetent to lead the people, because the main leader and negotiator on our part was a leader of another country, the head of the FRY. [sentence as heard] Why was the peace plan not accepted as the starting point for the negotiations? Thank you.

[Plavsic] Mr. Tesic [as heard] is right. I was very much against the plan of the Contact Group, just as I was against the Vance-Owen plan. The latest plan is the best one offered so far. Every plan was better than the previous one. According to the Contact Group plan, the Serb Republic would lose 20 towns. We did have 70 percent of the territory indeed, but the Contact Group plan did not recognize that. That plan would have cost us 20 towns. The latest plan gives us 12 of the 20 towns. Let me say that, when Mr. Milosevic returned from Dayton he said: We got a large number of towns. This is the best plan so far. He emphasized that the towns were a big success. In other words, we are not losers. I believe that the Dayton accord is the best offer so far. It is not optimal, we want more, but I think it strikes a good balance, as the federation is not satisfied either. This is a compromise. President Milosevic himself qualified the Dayton accord as the best plan so far.

[Lalovic] May I remind our viewers that the Contact Group plan did not give the Serb Republic as high a level of independence and sovereignty as the Dayton accord.

[Mirjanic] I would like to say that we did not have territorial continuity at that time.

[Plavsic] Yes, yes.

[Mirjanic] The intention behind the issue of Brcko is to interrupt our territorial continuity. All previous plans cut us into pieces, i.e. there was no territorial continuity. You cannot have a state without continuity!

[Plavsic] According to the Contact Group plan, Derventa, Samac, Doboj, and Brcko would not be on our territory. Some other towns as well, I cannot tell you which ones exactly. I know that President Milosevic

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said: Out of 20 towns excluded from the Serb territory in the Contact Group plan, 12 were given to the Serb Republic in the Dayton accord.

[Lalovic] A caller from Banja Luka asks you to use the term Serb Republic, as he does not like the term entity.

[Passage omitted]

[Plavsic] As regards Mr. Radic, that is your choice, you have that right. We insisted on democracy even during the war. Thank God you can now say your name and freely speak your mind. This is a success indicative of a democratic atmosphere that was created by the SDS.

About privatization, I am unaware of such instances of theft. Perhaps Mr. Mirjanic would care to comment on that.

[Mirjanic] I had the chance to read and hear from my colleagues who focus on the economy that the Law on Privatization says that those who did not spend the entire war on the territory of the Serb Republic will not have the right to take part in the privatization of state-owned property.

[Lalovic] Mirjana of Banja Luka asks why the ruling party, i.e. the SDS, does not react to the improper behavior of opposition parties that were presented so far?

[Plavsic] I cannot say their remarks were not improper, especially when they talk about individuals, but when those people cross a certain point and are no longer in control, their style says much more about themselves than about the people they describe. I do not intend to attack anyone. I am not like that. Perhaps people here misinterpret the meaning of political fighting, but we must work on that. I think we should criticize and point out what is wrong, with a good intention of fixing what is bad. However, attacks without valid argumentation say much more about the persons who utter such remarks.

[Mirjanic] I would like to emphasize that defending the nation from genocide and the organization of the state is not the sole contribution of this party. For the first time in several hundred years, we have unprecedented personal and political freedom in this region. The number of parties formed during the time the SDS activities were frozen is a case in point. That is unprecedented! People were defended from genocide and were being tricked into forming several parties and having parliamentary democracy at the same time. We ended the war and created borders and the state. We did not have a single political trial, a single political prisoner, a single execution. Consequently, for the first time in this region, the people are not afraid of its government, its police, its leaders. It must see the government as a service that will realize the national goals. We must work on that.

[Plavsic] Some people have still not decided who they will vote for. This is my plea to all of you: It has never been my intention, or the intention of any SDS leaders, to attack other parties. Let them speak. We prefer to talk about ourselves. Let me give you a word of warning. Who are the people who attack the SDS? The international community tried to eliminate the SDS from the political scene by means of blackmail. Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Muratovic stated that it would be best if the SPS won in the Serb Republic. Do the Serbs, the international community, and Mr. Muratovic have the same interests? If you listen to the Socialist Party, as well as the entire left bloc, attacking the SDS, there is no difference between the program of the SDS and the left bloc. They portray themselves as great nationalists. I listened to a program where Mr. Bijelic justly remarked: We fear your election campaign mimicry. We are aware of their mimicry, their camouflage before the election, and their insistence on the national program. At the last elections in Serbia, the program says that the interests of the Serbs outside Yugoslavia will be protected. What kind of protection was that? Yugoslavia was obliged to protect the Krajina. In other words, this is an already seen scenario: Before elections, the parties of the left emphasize the national program and forget about it immediately after the elections.

[Lalovic] Let us hear what our next caller has to say.

[Passage omitted]

[Plavsic] Thank you. If I am elected, I will try to justify your confidence as well as the confidence of all voters. The emergence of so many parties does not come as a surprise. Before, we had a one-party system for a very long time. We now see the other extreme, with many political parties on the political scene. I hope that the number of parties will subside in time and that we will live to see two or three parties in the Serb Republic with the same national program, because the insistence on the national Serb state is a criterion distinguisning between anti-Serbs and pro-Serb forces. Their programs will perhaps differ in their economic, social segments, and, if we are not satisfied with a party, we will vote for another one at the next elections. I hope we will be like other countries that are happy without so many parties. But that takes time.

Another thing. About Mr. Muratovic's statement and the efforts of the international community to eliminate the SDS from the political scene. The people must bear in mind that the SDS is the only party that did not contact

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the international community and its officials. We were not invited out to lunches or dinners, we were not paid air fares to go to Rome, to attend meetings. We held meetings in Tuzla. We have nothing to talk about with people outside the Serb Republic. We are here and talk with our people.

[Passage omitted]

[Plavsic] I am aware of the situation. It is very unfortunate, but we cannot change that. I know that this government, under a full embargo, when they predicted our collapse two or three months after the Drina River embargo was imposed, was using its last resources to supply the army with oil, ammunition, and weapons, to maintain the army and pay whatever money it could pay at the time. I fully understand the situation. Mr. Miljanic talked about the position of Serb intellectuals a moment ago. Please be patient. If we win the elections and if this government does not give the intellectuals, teachers their due—I am a professor as well—I will be very unhappy and that feeling of disappointment may prompt me to resign, if I am elected. In other words, I will do my best to stop such an unfortunate situation. I, too, have met college-educated people selling cigarettes on the market. They have college diplomas and should be doing other things.

[Passage omitted]

[Plavsic] That is no longer in the domain of politics. I would call it an abnormality that was partly imposed on us by the Dayton accord. The Serb state will certainly not tolerate that after the elections. Our first task is to provide the safety of the Serb nation and its property and then, on the basis of reciprocity, to grant minority rights to all other citizens, regardless of their nationality. I know that is painful, but people in the federation care about the Muslims, i.e. the Bosniaks, about the Croats. The Serb nation is our first and foremost concern, but we do not neglect the civic rights of other nations living here.

[Lalovic] Mrs. Plavsic, Mr. Mirjanic, time is running out and we cannot possibly answer all those questions, but let me read a question that I believe is very important. Mrs. Sakovic of Banja Luka and Mira of Srbac want to know what was agreed regarding missing soldiers, as you had a few contacts lately, and how to solve the problem of war prisoners and the exhumation of mass graves. After that, you will each get a minute to conclude your presentation.

[Plavsic] Those questions are the problem of all problems. They hinder the implementation of the Dayton accord in other domains. At my meetings with the representatives of the international community, I warned about that. They are probably not so much interested in looking for the missing, in exhumation, etc., because that is not a painful issue for them. It is painful for us. I warned them that everything in the Dayton accord is connected and that they will not be able to go on with the implementation, if we do not solve all problems one by one. All prisoners were supposed to be released on 19 January. A long time ago. I know that there are 49 registered mass graves in the Bosnian Krajina to which we are not allowed access. We cannot go to Mt. Ozren or Glamoc. I must say that certain activities of IFOR regarding the issue must be criticized. Something is wrong. I think something should be changed. Perhaps we should change the committee or bring to it more members who are interested in the matter, who are looking for their dear ones. We do not know what we will do to that end. That is a very painful issue that transcends the realm of politics, but influences politics in the humanitarian domain and must be solved. Meeting with international officials, I tried to find solutions and told Mr. Bildt that we will propose a solution. I have to think about that and make a proposal. However, if we are going to change something, the other side must make changes as well, because these are new terms.

[Lalovic] Mr. Mirjanic, you have a minute to say what has not been said so far. I hope you will not take it against me, Mrs. Plavsic, that I am leaving you until the end.

[Mirjanic] Let me briefly tell the viewers of Serb Television that the upcoming elections are more than just elections, because they will not only decide about the winning party, but also in which, whose, and what kind of a state we will live. I appeal to them to vote for their own state, because the others will vote for their state as well.

[Lalovic] Mrs. Plavsic.

[Plavsic] I agree. We must develop the Serb national state, derive strength from our rich tradition, and improve the relations with the Serb Orthodox Church. The church develops our spirituality that has forever—ever since the appearance of the Serb Orthodox Church, since we had our state almost 1,000 years ago—been the source of our strength in the most trying moments. To survive enslavement by the Turks during the 500 years of occupation, to preserve our identity.... The whole world should think about that nation. Perhaps we suffer so much and endure so much pressure because we are an odd nation. A small nation preserved its identity, its roots during those 500 years. We should keep that up.

[Lalovic] Mrs. Plavsic, Mr. Mirjanic, thank you for coming here tonight on behalf of the SDS. I thank our viewers for their cooperation and questions. We were

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unable to answer all of them, but hope to have another chance. Good night.

B-H: Serb Official Denies Statement on Brcko

LD1308164396 Pale Srpska Radio-Televizija First Program Serb Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Vitomir Popovic, the representative of the Serb Republic in the arbitration commission for the Brcko area, denied today that he said that it would be fairest if the arbitration process were to decide the subject of dispute regarding this town. This statement, carried by SRNA, was published in yesterday's issue of GLAS SRPSKI.

In his denial, Popovic says that he has not said this either to this agency or any other information media in either the Serb Republic, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, or abroad.

I stress that the subject of dispute is defined by Article 5 Point 1 of the agreement on the boundary line between the entities and other relevant points such as Annexe One of the general framework agreement, the denial says.

Popovic warns that statements by the international community that the maps, which the agreement refers to, do not exist do not represent a sufficient legal reason for the arbitration process to determine the subject of dispute. On the contrary, this would pose an obligation on both sides either to draw up new maps or to reach a new compromise on how to define the subject of dispute. Following this, an arbitration council would be set up and the arbitration process would be set in motion.

Any other approach would deviate from and seriously violate the [Dayton] agreement, which is outside my competence or the terms of reference of the arbitration process, the denial says.

B-H: Serb Commission Issues Statement on Dayton Agreement

LD1008143696 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1259 GMT 10 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 10 Aug (SRNA)—The Serb Republic state commission for the exchange of POW's and missing persons said today that it rejected views expressed by representatives of the international community alleging that all sides had been equally responsible for the failure to implement the Dayton agreement.

The Serb commission asks the international community "to establish responsibility and name those responsible for the failure to honor the signed undertakings to secure a more efficient way of resolving these problems."

"We regard the failure to carry out the obligations from the Banja Luka agreement, which is aimed at a speedy and efficient resolution of the accumulated problems, as serious breaches of the Dayton agreement if not crimes."

The commission expresses the hope that representatives of the international community still back the agreement, and specifically provisions on the collection of bodies of the Serb Republic army soldiers from the area of Paljenik on Mt Ozren and on exhumation and handover of bodies from graves on Mt Grmec.

The statement adds that the commission will be willing to give its full contribution "to the resolution of the issue of missing persons from Srebrenica if it is treated as a humanitarian issue." It recalls that it visited Kravice with the head of the Bosnia-Herzegovina state commission on 4 August, when practical ways of resolving the issue of missing persons were being determined.

In the belief that the signed agreements will be honored, the commission announces that exhumation of bodies in Bravnice near Jajce will be carried out on 10 August and on the [Bosanska] Krupa battlefield on 17 August.

The state commission for the exchange of POW's and missing persons says it has issued the statement to counteract manipulations by the international community and some parties in the Serb Republic and to refute articles published in Belgrade and Banja Luka papers.

The commission adds that it views the problem of captured, dead, and missing persons as a purely humanitarian issue, which is in line with the Dayton agreement.

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Croatia: Tudjman Leaves for Geneva, Stance Unchanged

LD1408083996 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 14 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman left from Pula airport this morning to go to the meeting in Geneva. Silvana Fable has a report:

[Begin recording] [Fable] At Pula airport President Franjo Tudjman told journalists the following about the stances Croatia will take concerning the resumption of negotiations between the federal partners [Muslims and Croats in Bosnia]:

[Tudjman] Of course, this is a continuation, primarily by the United States and also by the contact group, to ensure the implementation of the Dayton agreement because the September elections are imminent. That will be the main topic. You know that the responsibility for everything that is happening is dependent not only on factors in Bosnia-Herzegovina but also on us in Croatia. So these will be the topics of discussion. Our stances are clear and well known and there is no reason to change anything.

[Fable] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman was accompanied on his trip to Geneva by Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, and U.S. Ambassador to Croatia Peter Galbraith. [end recording]

Croatia: Foreign Minister Comments on Coming Geneva Talks

LD1308184796 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] With a view to the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the course of the implementation of the Dayton agreement, all world media are eagerly awaiting the outcome of tomorrow's meeting in Geneva. This afternoon we interviewed Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic about tomorrow's talks and Croatia's stands.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] What are the reasons for arranging this meeting and, bearing in mind the implementation of the dayton Agreement, what can be expected in terms of results?

[Granic] This is the third meeting between Secretary of State Christopher and Presidents Tudjman, Milosevic, and Izetbegovic. The course of the implementation of the Dayton agreement and especially next month's elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be the main topic of the meeting. Freedom of reporting, freedom of movement, and cooperation with the war crimes tribunal will be important topics as far as the review of the implementation of the Dayton agreement in Bosnia-Herzegovina is concerned.

Furthermore, bilateral meetings between Presidents Tudjman, Milosevic, and Izetbegovic with the secretary of state will be held. Meetings between the Croatian and Yugoslav delegations and between the Croatian and Bosniak delegations will also be held.

Presidents Tudjman and Milosevic and the two delegations will harmonize the final document on the normalization of bilateral relations. The issue of the transfer of powers from the republic to the federation, that is, from Herzeg-Bosnia to the federation—which the federation forum failed to agree on at its last session—will be discussed with the Bosniak side.

Other meetings will be held, meetings between the Bosniak and Yugoslav delegations and between the Bosniaks and Croats about the transfer of power with U.S. help. Contact Group members will be present. Many other bilateral meetings will be held. In any case, a hard day's diplomatic work is expected.

[Correspondent] Will additional pressure be put on the signatories?

[Granic] Regarding Bosnia-Herzegovina, we have already drawn attention to the fact that our views do not much differ from the U.S. and Mr. Bildt's views on the transfer of powers from the central government to the federal government, that is, from Herzeg-Bosnia to the federal government. We will firmly back attempts to reach an agreement on this in Geneva.

Regarding the elections, pressure will be put on all three sides to ensure that the best possible elections are held and that Bosnia-Herzegovina starts to be organized along the lines of the Dayton and Paris agreements. [end recording]

Croatia: UN Requires Improved Amnesty for Serbs

LD1308213996 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2116 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vukovar, Aug. 13 (TANJUG)- Head of the U.N. Transitional Authority for Eastern Slavonia [UNTAES] Jacques Klein told Croatian President Franjo Tudjman that the U.N. Security Council required an improved amnesty, said a statement released by UNTAES on Tuesday.

The amnesty should be granted to all except those suspected of committing war crimes as defined by international law, said the statement, issued after a meeting on Monday between Klein and Tudjman at a seaside resort in the northern Adriatic.

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Croatia seized parts of the republic of Serb Krajina in a blitz offensive last year, driving away 250,000 Serbs. It granted amnesty only to the unoccupied part of Krajina—Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and West Srem.

In spite of repeated demands by the international community to enable the return of Serbs to their homes, with an improved amnesty, Zagreb has done nothing for their return, and even harasses the few remaining Serbs in Croatia.

Croatia: Radio Reports UNTAES Projects for Waterway

AU1308171596 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The opening of the Drava-Danube navigable waterway after five years, as well as the reconstruction of the port on the Danube River, that is, the reopening of the port at Vukovar, are two parallel UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia] projects.

It is expected that these projects will make a significant contribution to the economic recovery and prosperity of the Serb Province of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem.

Croatia: E. Slavonia Serbs' View of Opening of UNTAES Offices

LD1308212096 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1841 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Vukovar, 13 Aug (TANJUG)—In Vukovar today, the executive committee of the Serb region of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem Vukovar supported the text of the draft memorandum on the opening of UNTAES [UN Transitional Authority in Eastern Slavonia] administrative offices for issuing Croatian documents in this region, but did not agree to sign this document because of the poor quality of the Croatian amnesty law and the dilemmas it is causing in terms of personal documentation.

Vojin Susa, coordinator for the negotiations with the Croatian side, said when acquainting members of the government with the new draft memorandum which is supposed to regulate relations in the documentation sphere, that this draft, the fourth, is significantly more favorable for the Serb side than previous drafts. [passage omitted]

Initially, according to the draft memorandum, offices will be opened in Vukovar, Ilok, and Beli Manastir. They will be staffed by four Croats and one official from the Serb region. [passage omitted]

Croatia: Kuna Introduced as Currency in Eastern Slavonia

AU1408112896 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 12 Aug 96 p 3

[Article by B. Vrbosic: "Kuna Enters the Danube Valley"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Osijek—The introduction of the kuna as the currency medium in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srijem, the region under the administration of UNTAES [UN Transitional Authorities for Eastern Slavonia], is one of the important steps in the process of peaceful reintegration. Not only will it remove the psychological barrier, but also mark the beginning of the definite incorporation of that region into the economic system of the Republic of Croatia. Naturally, resistance from Serb para-authorities is still strong, but the solution to that problem is apparently at hand, especially since the Croatian Government and UNTAES signed the agreement to cofinance utilities.

"According to the agreement, the kuna will be introduced as the currency medium in that region by this October at the latest. Therefore, I think it would be good to introduce the kuna gradually, through pensions and salaries, and hopefully through the sale of certain products—gasoline, for instance. That will be the best guarantee of the final introduction of the kuna. That is also why Croatia is ready to cofinance utilities in the region under UNTAES—in kuna, of course," stated Ivica Vrkic, head of the Government Transitional Administration Office.

The kuna has already entered the area through pension payments in Darda, and the project is being continued. Transitional police officers, employees of utility companies that will be incorporated into the Croatian system, educators, and health workers will soon be paid in kuna, too. Transitional Administrator Jacques Klein guaranteed that only those who proved ready to contribute to the establishment of the Croatian authorities would be financed from Croatian Government funds (4.5 million kuna per month). The Croatian Government will be advised on that on a regular basis. Moreover, a special form of the introduction of kuna will be shops to open soon near the border of the region under UNTAES—a project similar to that in Western Slavonia, near Nova Gradiska, in 1994. Representatives of the office made arrangements with UNTAES and Serb representatives for three such shops. Belje [meat packing plant originally located in Bilje] is in charge of the shop in Bilje, near the gas station. Saponia [chemical industry in Osijek] is in charge of its location on the road to Vukovar, and we will soon know which company will take over the shop located between Mirkovci and Vinkovci.

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"Both our products and theirs will be sold in all of those shops. There will also be exchange offices and local branches of our office for drawing identity papers. The shops will be a place where people can both do their shopping and have other kinds of communication. Of course, goods will be sold for kunas and German marks. If there is interest in the transitional period, it will also be sold for dinars," Vrkic said.

Croatia: Police Search for 'Saboteurs' in Zupanja Area

AU1308160396 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 96 p 6

[Article by Z.Z. in Zupanja: "Groundless Rumors About Saboteurs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] If anyone traveled from Zupanja toward Vrbanja or Gunja last week, one would not have failed to notice intensified police activity in that area. Apart from numerous road patrols, which were checking vehicles and passengers on the roads, there were also smaller groups of special forces armed with automatic rifles. Rumors started to roll through the Zupanja region that a group of Chetniks had crossed over into Croatia. On Thursday, the stories were warmed up with the "information" that there were 50 Serbian saboteurs, but that, however, "11 of them have already been captured." We asked Tomislav Iljic, head of the law enforcement police department of the PU [Police Administration] of Vukovar-Srijem County, for an official statement about the activities of the police in the triangle between Vrbanja, Posavski Podgajci, and Gunja. He confirmed that, based upon information given by an inhabitant of Gunja, who, while cultivating his land, first noticed and then talked to three unknown persons, the police had really started to search the area around that village. It was done for security reasons, says Iljic, but no unknown persons were found. In his opinion, one must rule out the possibility that the three unknown persons were saboteurs, because, if the story of this inhabitant of Gunja is true, saboteurs would act differently when in contact with any of our citizens.

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FYROM: Greek 'Violations' of Accord Examined

AU1308203596 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 10-11 Aug 96 pp 8-9

[Commentary by Dimka Ilkova-Boskova: "Greece Does Not Have a Feeling for Notes!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The latest events in the Balkans in connection with the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] show that our surroundings, although "settled down" after the inalienable truth that here exists a new state, will require more time to get used to the fact that this state, the Republic of Macedonia, wants to and must act as a sovereign and independent body that respects the established and long-confirmed rules of interstate conduct. It means that it will use diplomacy whenever the coexisting relations with neighbors are jeopardized, it will demonstrate its dignity and will not tolerate compromises beyond the limits, and it will struggle uncompromisingly for the protection of its interests. This intention is exactly the reason why the Republic of Macedonia is making somebody angry and nervous, and it is even irritating to some up to the point that it is, for instance, qualified with the following sentence: "Skopje is in a summer delirium of provocations" (Greek newspaper ELEFTEROS TIPOS).

Surprised by the Aide Memoire

What is all this about? After they had been assured that in the center of the Balkans a state was actually born, which caused some of them to be extremely surprised or "deprived," the neighbors of the Republic of Macedonia could not accept the fact that it could proudly rise up, that it could write a aide memoire, submit a [protest] note, say "No, thanks..." and inform all relevant international factors and institutions about the events that are taking place in its neighborhood.

Last winter and last spring, we were relaxed because we witnessed the completion of our recognition, which was particularly marked by the Interim Accord on normalization of relations with neighboring Greece, followed by the establishment of full diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. We heard statements, and we wrote articles about promotion of cooperation with all the neighbors, about joint projects and wishes for a final stabilization of the situation in the region. We opened new embassies, liaison offices, and people from the business world rushed to both sides of the border. It all looked very optimistic, and we were even ready to start to believe that our neighbors to the south would give up their intention of acting as our godfather, that those in the west would finally realize that "their people" here live quite normally, that the east would solve its invented "language problem," and that the north would take a pen and sit down with its Macedonian colleagues to draw up the border line. However,....

Instead of all this, we are now witnessing new tensions and uncertainty. Greece is again angry with us, and it threatens to reestablish blockades. Obviously, Athens cannot stomach that we threw in the aide memoire, which is the first official document traveling from Skopje to the United Nations, to the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], to the Council of Europe, to foreign embassies, and to many other relevant places with the aim of making them aware of its [Greece's] "inappropriate attitude to the Interim Accord" that was signed in New York on 13 September last year. Specifically, this was a reaction of our state's official bodies to the increasing violation of the accord by Greece and to a number of political blockades that it was making (and it still is), first of all in the European Union, which is contrary to the spirit of the agreement on cooperation and good will, particularly in relation to some very pragmatic questions. Our nondoomed and self-proclaimed godfathers were probably surprised by the openness and exactness of the arguments that were presented in the aide memoire, so at first they denied the reception of any document, saying that they did not know what it was all about, and that they had even rejected it.

Panghalos Cannot "Stand" Frckoski

They know perfectly well that the aide memoire was not sent to them, as they also knew perfectly well that it had to do with their full respect for what they had signed and to what they had expressed verbally (let us recall the numerous generous statements of Greece—that it would support our association in the European and international organizations and institutions). Instead of reexamining itself about the value of the Greek signature on the Interim Accord, which projects that the differences over the name would not be an obstacle in the mutual cooperation, and in particular that the two sides would not reprimand one another about membership in other regional institutions, and instead of reexamining all their violations of the accord, Greek newspapers and diplomatic sources attacked the Republic of Macedonia accusing it of "boldness" in the aide memoire and of "insolence" in reviving the question of the Macedonian minority in Greece, particularly of "initiating the subject of returning back the assets of the Slav communist refugees who had fought for the secession of Macedonia from Greece" (KATIMERINI).

Athens seems confused or surprised by Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski's statement in which he said that the question of the name of our country is a "fait ac-

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compli" or that "there cannot be any discussions over the constitutional name." It seems to be afraid of the unofficial announcements that the Republic of Macedonia will submit to the United Nations the question of the recognition of the constitutional name, and so it lists the events inside our country as reasons for the deterioration of Skopje-Athens relations and writes articles about an alleged "departure of President Gligorov" and "removal of Stojan Andov from the political scene" because he was associated with some economic circles that are in favor of promotion of relations with Greece. As KATIMERINI says, it has been clearly displayed that Greece cannot stand the imposition of the "whimsical policy of Foreign Minister Ljubomir Frckoski." Moreover, they are not able to realize that the meeting of Ambassadors Tosevski and Zaharakis in New York are not "negotiations on changing our name," but on the differences over the name, in which the Macedonian view has never been changed—we have been baptized and that is the end of it.

In commenting on these subjects, the Greek press retold [the history of] the aide memoire of the Macedonian Foreign Ministry, and it assessed that we were only right to react to the repainting of the "Pal Air Macedonia" Company aircraft. Everything else in the document is allegedly nothing but smoke and fog. As if it were a trifle when we decisively indicated [our concern] at Greece's pressure over the European Union in the spring, when we negotiated on the agreement on mutual and bilateral cooperation, with the intention of blocking this process. We signed the agreement with the European Union with great difficulties precisely because of Greece.

In some letters, we signed a document in which, thanks to Greece, the internationally accepted MK code for Macedonia was rejected, and now, instead of these two letters which were meant to define us in the specific trading documents, we will have figures. Greece also succeeded in replacing the term "Macedonian language" with the term "official languages" in the agreement, and on the top of its maliciousness was its success in persuading the European Commission to propose to insert the Interim Accord between Greece and Macedonia in the preamble of the agreement on cooperation, as a factor of regional stability that will favor the links for cooperation between Macedonia and Greece. What are we going to be faced with on 1 January 1997 when the agreement between our country and the European Union comes into effect?

Surprised by the New Style

It is strange that almost no one from Greece tries to comment on the allegations of the Macedonian Foreign Ministry that are related to the other kinds of violations of the Interim Accord between the two countries. One page of the three-and-a-half-page aide memoire is dedicated to the incident that Greece caused in relations with the ministerial meeting in Sofia that was held on 7 and 8 July. The reasons which led our country to the decision not to attend this meeting lie in the Greek violation of a number of regulations from the Interim Accord that it signed with the Republic of Macedonia. Not wishing to insist on using the name of the Republic of Macedonia (in a country that recognized it by this name—Bulgaria), Macedonia offered that the names of all the states be replaced by the names of the respective foreign ministers. Greece had accepted this right, but just before the meeting it made an ultimatum: "Either FYROM or Greece is not attending the meeting in Sofia." This is completely contrary to Article 21 of the Interim Accord, which projects resolution of all disputes "only with peaceful means." In Article 22 of this document, it is said that the accord is not directed against any other state, that is against the relations of the Republic of Macedonia and of Greece with third states. Thanks to Greece, the Macedonian-Bulgarian agreements, according to which Bulgaria, as well as most of the other countries participants in Sofia meeting, use the constitutional name of Macedonia, were violated.

However, they are not able to comment on this because they do not have any arguments. It is another matter that Greece was surprised by the new style in the articulation of the foreign political views, and it is its own problem whether it had been expecting this from us or not. Today Macedonia has the right and internationally recognized background to articulate its foreign political interests and internal needs wherever it finds it necessary. This was the case with the aide memoire on the Greek behavior, and similar, only stronger, was the event related to the note with which Tirana was faced in the days when its parliament had nothing else to do but pass a resolution on purely Macedonia's internal affairs. Aide memoires and notes are typical for diplomacy, but violation of mutual agreements and insolent interference into the kettle of the neighbors are totally atypical.

FYROM: 'Illegal' University Writes to Albanian Parliament

AU1308174796 Skopje MIC in English 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed text] "The professors, the students, and the associates of the Tetovo University applaud the Resolution of the Albanian Assembly, by which it places itself into defence of the Tetovo University, as well as the demand for the release of the T.U.'s President Fadil Sulejmani, and President of the Senate Milain Fejziu,"

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says the letter sent by the illegal Tetovo University to President of the Albanian Parliament Pjotr Arnbori.

This letter is signed by the Vice President of the "Tetovo University" Agni Dika, who has the leading role in the "Tetovo University," after the imprisonment of Sulejmani and Fejziu. In addition, the letter says that the Resolution "rightfully accuses the police acts of the FYROM's Government, which are exercised without any legal basis."

The letter also says that "this Resolution places the Albanian Assembly in defence of the primary, civillizatory and inalienable right of the Albanians to education on their national language on every level, because this right is guaranteed by the international acts, standards and conventions."

FYROM: Tetovo University Figure Discusses Current Issues

AU1308172596 Skopje MIC in English 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] "The Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Government, and not somebody else, is trying to destroy the Tetovo University, and in this attempt, some disguised Albanians participate as figures, hiding behind the Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP] with a goal to tragically deceive the Albanian electorate," says Vice-President of the illegal "Tetovo University" Agni Dika, responding to the call of PDP, in which this party asks him to answer whether he stood behind the T.U.'s recent Announcement which was actually an attack addressed to the PDP.

In addition, Agni Dika says that "the bodies of the Tetovo University haven't received a single reaction of PDP so far, since PDP has already adopted the habit to communicate with the public via different announcements, curses, intrigues, demands, which don't hide the facts about their political responsibility."

"The political, religious, and national divisions are created by the Macedonian Government, which favors a grasp of people who agreed with the idea that the Albanians should be second-rate citizens in Macedonia, with the not-existing Pedagogic Faculty, with the limited use of the Albanian language, with the exodus of the Albanians, with the corruption, fictitious censuses, arranged elections, with the massive unemployment of the Albanians and the Constitution which leaves the Albanians without a defensive mechanism," says the letter.

FYROM: Interior Ministry Captures Munitions Smugglers

AU1408112596 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 1330 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Ministry of the Interior recently uncovered an organized group that was engaged in illegal trade in ammunition brought into our country from the Republic of Albania. On 6 August, an Albanian and three Macedonian citizens brought in 10,000 7.62 mm handgun cartridges for further resale on the markets of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] in the region of Tetovo and Gostivar. During their attempts to sell the cartridges, the perpetrators were caught, and the Tetovo department of the Ministry of the Interior brought charges against them while the investigative judge issued an order for their confinement, the Ministry of the Interior informs.

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Poland: Army Division Adapts to NATO Structures

LD1308210596 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 1900 GMT 13 Aug 96

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[FBIS Translated Text] Shorter, experimental training of servicemen has been introduced in three units of the 12th Szczecin Mechanized Division. Earlier the division's organization was changed. This is to bring it closer to NATO structures.

The experiment began on 1 July in the 6th Armored Brigade, the 3rd Antiaircraft Regiment, and the Reconnaisance Battalion. At the same time, this will constitute a test of the professional staff's readiness for the new training conditions.

[begin recording] [Colonel Robert Jablonski, head of training—caption] One of the objectives of this training is to introduce training savings, financial savings, among other things by increasing the numbers of professional servicemen. [end recording]

[Announcer] Earlier, three main units were formed within the 12th Division: two mechanized brigades and one armored brigade. The division also includes an antiaircraft regiment, an artillery regiment, and engineer and reconnaisance battalions. The process is to adapt the unit to NATO requirements. This is also assisted by the last two year's cooperation with the Bundeswehr's 14th Division and the [Danish] Jutland Division, which has included joint exercises and observation of barracks and field training methods.

Poland: Speculation Over Cabinet Changes in Wake of Reform

WS1308144696 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 Aug 96 p 2

[Article by Krzysztof Kaszynski and Jacek Podgorski: "Expected Changes in Posts"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *No room for Kolodko, the appointment of Foreign Affairs Minister Rosati as the head of the Finance Ministry, and the nomination of Siemiatkowski as the minister for special services—these are the most important changes in the composition of the Council of Ministers that will take place as a result of the reform of the central governing bodies. ZYCIE WARSZAWY has found out about them unofficially.*

Both the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] want Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz to keep the post of prime minister. However, the PSL would like the Cabinet to be reshuffled as a result of a vote of no confidence. "I think that this is out of the question," ZYCIE WARSZAWY was told by Government Spokeswoman Aleksandra Jakubowska. First, because the reform of the central governing bodies is spread over time. Some ministers will assume their offices as soon as October, whereas others will do it later. Thus, when should this Cabinet reshuffle be made? Second, because by accepting the principles of the reform of the central governing bodies, the parliament sort of passed a vote of confidence in the Cabinet.

This means that the Cabinet reshuffle will most probably be a result of agreements reached by the two coalition parties. Unofficial talks on this issue have been under way for a few days now. Minister Jakubowska would not talk about specific names. Nonetheless, the names of future ministers are already circulating among the deputies of the SLD and the PSL. The SLD agrees that the PSL recommend two out of three deputy ministers in the new Cabinet. In line with our information, the new deputy prime ministers will be: Leszek Miller, new minister of administration and internal affairs; Miroslaw Pietrewicz, who will be appointed minister of the State Treasury; and Roman Jagielinski, who will keep the portfolio of the agriculture minister.

Here is another major change in the Cabinet: Grzegorz Kolodko, deputy prime minister and minister of finance, will not hold this office in the new Cabinet. The coalition is promising him the chairmanship of the National Bank of Poland in the distant future. His position in the Finance Ministry is to be taken over by the incumbent foreign affairs minister, Dariusz Rosati, who has recently been severely criticized by the SLD for, among other tnings, "his rather inflexible approach to the issue of the Concordat." As for the post of head of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, Prime Minister Cimoszewicz would gladly entrust it to Andrzej Wieczorkiewicz, who is an under secretary of state at the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM] and the prime minister's plenipotentiary for foreign investment. According to ZYCIE WARSZAWY interlocutors, Marek Borowski will run the key Ministry of Economy. The post of head of the Prime Minister's Office will be taken by Grzegorz Rydlewski; Jacek Syryusz-Wolski will chair the Committee for European Integration; and Barbara Blida will take the Housing Office.

According to our information, Zbigniew Siemiatkowski, who will leave the Internal Affairs Ministry, is to be appointed minister for special services in the Prime Minister's Office. His task will be to supervise the activities of the Office of State Protection [UOP] on behalf of the prime minister. It looks like personnel changes will also be made in UOP.

"We would like Andrzej Anklewicz to be the new chief of UOP," one of the SLD leaders told ZYCIE

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WARSZAWY. "In such a situation, Mr. Kapkowski, who currently heads UOP, might become his deputy and relieve Colonel Nozka of this difficult duty," our interlocutor added. Despite this change, the PSL would maintain—or even strengthen—its position in the defense-related ministries. Today it is certain that Dobrzanski will remain as head of the Defense Ministry. In UOP, the Peasants will be represented by Zdzislaw Skorza, who is currently deputy chief of UOP. The PSL will most probably designate former URM head Michal Strak as deputy minister in the new Ministry of Administration and Internal Affairs.

Poland: Cimoszewicz Wants 'Full Assessment' of Cabinet

LD1308191296 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1700 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz does not envisage the need for dismissing his Cabinet and forming a new coalition government. However, he anticipates changes in the composition of the Council of Ministers after the central government reform comes into force. Before a meeting of the Council of Ministers today, the prime minister said that he would assess the functioning of the government six months after it had been formed. As a result of this assessment, there may be changes in departmental leadership:

[Begin Cimoszewicz recording] It is a good time to conduct a full assessment of the functioning of the Council of Ministers and its individual members. If it turns out that there is a need for far-reaching changes, I envisage that such changes may take place. [end recording]

Poland: More on Possible Cabinet Changes in Wake of Reform

WS1408111796 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 14-15 Aug 96 p 1

[Article by "DOM, JACH, KRZEM, PAP": "The Cabinet To Be Overhauled"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *The entire Cabinet will not be dismissed, Prime Minister Cimoszewicz said yesterday. He suggested, however, that he would replace some ministers.*

Changes are inevitable. A reform of the central governing bodies will start in October. Seven ministries will be liquidated, and six new ministries will be set up. Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz does not rule out that changes also may affect the ministries that will not be reformed. [passage omitted]

Changes in Diplomacy?

[Foreign Affairs Minister] Rosati would be replaced by Eugeniusz Wyzner, who started his career as a diplomat of the Polish People's Republic in the mid-1950's and who is now secretary of state in the Foreign Affairs Ministry [MSZ]. There is already talk at the MSZ that, although Rosati is in charge of foreign policy, Wyzner is calling the shots in the ministry.

Another likely candidate for the head of the diplomatic service is Marek Siwiec, minister in the Presidential Chancellery; he was already proposed for the post of deputy foreign affairs minister in the past.

Changes in UOP?

It follows from our information that a candidate for the chief of the Office of State Protection [UOP] is Andrzej Anklewicz, currently a deputy internal affairs minister. UOP Chief Andrzej Kapkowski would then be Anklewicz's deputy.

The position of Internal Affairs Minister Zbigniew Siemiatkowski has weakened. He is being attacked for leaks from UOP. Another thing that turned out to be detrimental to him was his dispute with Leszek Miller; Siemiatkowski opposed the idea of merging the Internal Affairs Ministry and the Office of the Council of Ministers into a single gigantic ministry of internal affairs and administration. Nonetheless, Miller managed to get support for this concept. Siemiatkowski will probably return to the Presidential Chancellery as head of the National Security Office.

Following a meeting with the prime minister yesterday, Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych said that first decisions would be made no sooner than in September. In unofficial talks, all of the politicians of the coalition stress that personnel proposals will keep changing. Several sides will clash in the negotiations: not only the Democratic Left Alliance and the Polish Peasant Party, but also President Kwasniewski and the prime minister.

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Romania: CDR Allocates Eligible Seats to Member Parties

AU1308201396 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Executive Committee of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] decided at a meeting held today that the 180 electoral seats considered as the eligible minimum should be divided among the member parties as follows: 100 for the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD]; 40 the National Liberal Party [PNL]; 10 for the National Liberal Party-Democratic Convention [PNL-CD]; seven for the Romanian Ecology Party [PER]; five for the Romanian Alternative Party [PAR]; three the Ecologist Federation of Romania [FER]. Eligible seats were also allocated to several civic associations.

A communique received from the CDR points out that the distribution of the eligible seats for the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate aimed at ensuring a correct and equitable balance between the Christian Democratic, liberal, ecological, and civic factions within the CDR so that they can be appropriately represented in the Parliament.

In another order, the CDR Executive Committee decided to register the organization, in accordance with the electoral law, under the name Romanian Democratic Convention [Conventia Democrata Romana], so as to forestall any possible contest over the name of this political alliance.

Romania: UDMR Presidential Candidate Frunda on Electoral Race

AU1308114596 Bucharest JURNALUL NATIONAL in Romanian 8 Aug 96 p 17

[Interview with Senator Gyorgy Frunda, candidate of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania for the Romanian presidency, by Gena Saru; place and date not given: "I Believe That in a Normal Country the Idea of Normality Is for Everyone To Wish To Die as an Honest but Rich Man"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Saru] Your nomination to run for the presidency came as no surprise. The UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] leaders have frequently said that you are the most appropriate person to represent the union. You, however, have repeatedly stated that you would turn down such an offer on personal grounds. What made you change your mind?

[Frunda] I changed my mind due to the political analysis studies that were completed with respect to my candidacy, studies that showed that if I accepted the offer the outcome would be more positive than negative—I am referring to the political domain. As far as the personal angle—the effect of my decision on my private life and my family—is concerned, my family accepted that I should run for that office and promised to support me, and thus thanks to them I am now running for the presidency.

[Saru] The electoral campaign will be very difficult and will rob you of almost all your time. How do you intend to cope with your other duties?

[Frunda] My candidacy means a great deal of additional work, and therefore I will be forced to cut down on some of my activities in other domains (in parliament and in the Council of Europe,) but this is the price one has to pay if one wishes to participate in the presidential race.

[Saru] Will Budapest offer you financial support?

[Frunda] No.

[Saru] In that case, how would you comment on the assertions made to that effect by the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania]?

[Frunda] I would like to emphasize once more that Budapest is not financing my candidacy, and it is not being conducted from Budapest. Those PDSR assertions lack any grounds, and are nothing but political diversion intended to drive the electorate away from me. Why do they want to achieve this? Because—and I firmly believe this—I will obtain so many votes that in the runoff I will be able the decisively influence the election of the person who is to become Romania's future president. This is precisely the reason why the PDSR wishes to diminish my chances in the coming elections, and to achieve this, they even resort to political diversion. My campaign is not and will not be financed by Budapest.

[Saru] Will you include aspects related to ethnic autonomy in your political program?

[Frunda] In my electoral campaign I do not intend to use evasiveness, but will rather call a spade a spade. The UDMR has never requested autonomy on ethnic criteria, but rather territorial autonomy, which is an entirely different thing. I, both as a politician, but also as a juridical expert, am a supporter of various forms of autonomy, and I intend to sustain these concepts (including what we actually mean by them) during my electoral campaign. I believe that autonomy is equally necessary and important for both the Romanians and the Hungarians living in Romania.

[Saru] Why?

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[Frunda] Because decentralized administrative systems enjoying territorial autonomy, in which local communities are allowed to make decisions regarding their own fate and are able to impose their own will, is far more beneficial for the country than a centralized system in which the government tries, but fails to solve the problems of the country. From the financial point of view it is abnormal that all taxes and fees should first go to the central budget and then be redistributed—but merely a very, very tiny part of it—among the local administration bodies. It would be much more normal if a part of that money was left in the counties, these being authorized to do what they think with it. Of course, in the places also inhabited by ethnic communities, minority communities, the issues related to the use of the mother tongue, bilingual inscriptions, as well as the educational and cultural problems must be resolved within a legal framework. To this purpose, in my opinion, there is need for a law on ethnic minorities, one that meets international standards and the stipulations of international conventions signed and ratified by Romania as well; on the basis of that law, territorial and local councils could begin implementing those stipulations.

[Saru] Why is it that so far there does not exist even a draft version of such a law?

[Frunda] We initiated about four such drafts, all regarding the rights of the ethnic minorities, but so far the Chamber of Deputies has refused to discuss any of those proposals.

[Saru] Why do you think they refused?

[Frunda] They claim that no such law is necessary for Romania, but this is not true.

Romania: PAC's Manolescu Criticizes Presidential Candidates

AU1308140596 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 6 Aug 96 p 3

[Statement by Nicolae Manolescu, president of the Civic Alliance Party, in Iasi; date not given: "Mr. Ion Iliescu Is, for Romania, the Principal Obstacle to Our Country Finding Its Place in the Civilized World"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Being present in Iasi, where he officially launched his electoral campaign for a seat in the Romanian Senate, running on the slate of the Iasi branch of the National Liberal Alliance (ANL), Nicolae Manolescu, the leader of PAC [Civic Alliance Party], avoided making any reference to his own candidacy. However, Manolescu did not miss the opportunity to criticize his main (future) adversaries in the presidential race.*

"As long as I do not officially announce my candidacy for Romania's presidency on behalf of a political party or alliance, I can solely comment on the participants in the presidential race as a political observer. Thus, Mr. Ion Iliescu seems to me the main person who could be held responsible for the halting of reform, the difficult situation our country is facing, and the deplorable image of Romania abroad. This does not mean that I consider Mr. Iliescu a culprit to be blamed for all the bad things in this country, but rather that he did not take any of the measures that he should have taken as stipulated by the Constitution and which belong to his attributions, to induce the necessary changes. Currently, Mr. Iliescu is, for Romania, the principal obstacle to our country finding its place in the civilized world. A new candidacy on behalf of Mr. Iliescu now, regardless of his reasons or whether it is allowed for by the Constitution and our laws—although one should not forget about the latter either—continues to do the country wrong.

"Mr. Petre Roman [presidential candidate of the opposition Social-Democratic Union] I would reproach with the fact that he has not distanced himself sufficiently from his recent past [as Romania's first prime minister after 1989.]

"As far as Mr. Emil Constantinescu [presidential candidate of the opposition Democratic Convention of Romania—CDR] is concerned, I would reproach him with a certain kind of political opportunism. Four years ago he joined the presidential race as an independent candidate, the idea being that solely such a person could gain the votes of all the parties belonging to the CDR. You see, four years ago there were fears within the CDR that if their candidate would belong to any of those parties, the balance among them would be upset. Now Mr. Constantinescu is a member of the PNTCD [National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party]; what is even more, he is just formally a member because he is compelled by the electoral law. However, one may wonder: Did he observe this legal stipulation out of conviction or was it opportunism? From the moral angle, this seems a very serious question to me," stated Nicolae Manolescu.

Romania: Article Suggests PDSR Uses Hungarian Issue

AU1308202296 Bucharest EXPRES MAGAZIN in Romanian 6-13 Aug 96 No 31, p 7

[Article by Dinu C. Giurescu: "The Double Diversion"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A few recent evolutions seem to indicate that a new stage has been reached in Hungary's ties with its neighbors, on the one hand, and the position occupied by the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] in the Romanian political

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spectrum, on the other. Let us examine them one by one.

The Budapest Declaration

On 4 and 5 July in Budapest, a conference was held on "Hungary and Ethnic Hungarians Abroad." Organized by the [Hungarian] Prime Minister's Office, the conference adopted a "joint declaration" signed by the Hungarian foreign affairs minister, the representatives of seven Hungarian political parties represented in Parliament, and 11 leaders of ethnic Hungarian organizations living in other countries, including Mr. Bela Marko, UDMR president.

The "joint statement" explicitly points out that:

a) "The establishment of self-rule and autonomy is crucial for the preservation of the identity of the ethnic Hungarian minorities living abroad";

b) "The principle of responsibility for the communities of the ethnic Hungarians living abroad (...) is to be fully exercised within the relations between Hungary and the ethnic Hungarian communities existing in the neighboring countries";

c) Each year, a certain invariable percentage of the Hungarian state budget is to be allotted to the benefit of the Hungarian communities abroad;

d) "A continuous exchange of information, continuous consultations, and a harmonization of positions" is to take place between the various fora and political parties in Budapest and the various organizations abroad.

In a meeting held on 13 to 14 July 1996 in Cluj-Napoca, the UDMR Council of Representatives (CRU) adopted and approved the "joint statement."

At the same meeting, the CRU elected, by an overwhelming majority of votes, with 75 in favor out of the 87 ballots cast, Senator Gyorgy Frunda, a juridical expert, as the UDMR candidate for the Romanian presidential elections scheduled for 3 November.

The PDSR Declaration

Once the Budapest conference issued the aforementioned document and the UDMR adopted it, the current Romanian ruling party, the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania], reacted promptly and firmly by means of a communique issued by the PDSR press office.

The PDSR response expresses the following things:

—"The Hungarian Government has proceeded to the establishing of direct relations with citizens of other countries (...)";

—"In this way, the organization of ethnic minorities have been turned into instruments of Hungary's policy-making";

—The concept of the "autonomy" of the ethnic Hungarian communities existing in other countries results in the undermining of the territorial integrity of the neighbors (including Romania);

—Mr. Gyorgy Frunda, the UDMR candidate running for the presidency, "appears as the mere personification of Hungary's new political orientation";

—The UDMR's future electoral campaign "is financed by a foreign state";

—Hungary's encroachment, as resulting from the Budapest declaration (of 4 to 5 July 1996) "is an act bearing grave consequences for Romania's internal stability and security in the region."

What is this PDSR declaration intended to achieve?

It is a kind of a message, using unequivocal terms, addressed to the authorities and political forces in Hungary, the UDMR, and, last but not least—if not above all—to the Romanian electorate.

What Does Mr. Gyorgy Frunda Say?

Once we have gotten to this point, let us examine the stance of Mr. Gyorgy Frunda, the UDMR's presidential candidate.

This is what he wants:

—To present an alternative to the governing program, "one that is better for Romania" than the existing one;

—The UDMR program, which lies at the basis of his own, includes the idea of "autonomy on the basis of territorial criteria";

—"Everywhere where a part of the population is of a nationality different from the Romanian one" he includes the right of those minorities to use "their mother tongue in public administration, justice courts, bilingual inscriptions, and other similar things";

—Local, as well as territorial-administrative autonomy "(...) does not represent an attempt, in any way, to endanger the independence or sovereignty of the country."

Furthermore Mr. Frunda declared that he will make efforts, using exclusively parliamentary methods, to prove that "Hungary and, respectively, the Hungarians, have not always been or will remain for ever the enemies of the Romanians, and that they do not wish the revision or the modification of the borders."

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In the runoff of the presidential elections, the UDMR is "to offer its votes to the candidate displaying a democratic profile and a European way of thinking." This may also alter the balance of forces in the future Parliament. (Quotes from the 17 and 18 July issues of daily CRONICA ROMANA).

The Escalation of Polemics

The periodical reiteration of the concept of "autonomy"—be it individual, ethnic, or territorial—seems to have become a kind of a leitmotif in the political discourse of some of the representatives of that ethnic minority. This is what triggers the reaction, coming equally often, of some of the leaders of the majority population.

As it seems now, we are witnessing a process of escalating polemics on the issue of the relations between the Romanians and Hungarians living in Romania.

What signs indicate that such an escalation, especially tailored to be noticed by the Romanian electorate, exists?

Recently, the PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party] president [Gheorghe Funar] announced that his party would contest, on the basis of the law on political parties, the application the UDMR sent to the Bucharest Municipality Tribunal to be registered as a political party. Political observers consider that such a reaction, as the aforementioned one, represents the usual political line followed by the PUNR president.

During his latest press briefing, President Ion Iliescu declared: "The fueling of the idea of ethnic-territorial autonomy means nothing else but segregation and the establishment of enclaves, which would lead to a negative spiritual state. In the administration of the town of Sfantu Gheorghe, they exercise ethnic cleansing: The mayor has ousted all ethnic Romanians from the personnel of the city hall there."

In an editorial by Lia Bejan, which includes the aforementioned quote, the influential daily ADEVARUL (No. 1924 of Saturday 20 July 1996) comments on this issue in the following way:

—The declaration referring to autonomy on ethnic criteria "marks the opening of President Iliescu's electoral campaign (...)";

"It is for the first time that the president uses the term 'ethnic cleansing.'"

Autonomy and Ethnic Minority Rights

What conclusions can one draw from all these developments?

1. The concept of territorial autonomy, regardless of how many explanations are attached to it, invariably ends up triggering concern, tension, and reactions. Analogies with other such cases to be encountered in Europe are irrelevant. Evolutions in Spain, Italy, or Finland have been, throughout the centuries, totally different to those in the Transylvania region.

2. The ethnic Hungarian communities existing in Romania (as well as the other ethnic minorities) who have been living in this countries over centuries belong to this land in the same way as the majority Romanian population does.

The right of the ethnic Hungarian communities to preserve their cultural identity, traditions, history, and individuality is legitimate. Their right to use their mother tongue in the various sectors of political and cultural life is undoubtedly to be ensured.

3. The declaration adopted at the 4 to 5 July conference in Budapest comprises a sufficient number of elements apt to cause concern in the neighboring countries, and, at the same time, it also attempts to set up new rules and procedures in international relations. If they are applied, they might lead to unpredictable evolutions.

Which Are the Goals Pursued by the PDSR?

Why does the ruling PDSR put so much fervor in its campaign related to the aforementioned evolutions? Insider commentators distinguish at least three possible reasons:

a) By putting the emphasis on the "autonomy" idea—which, as a matter of fact, is being continuously fueled by the declarations of the ethnic minority party leaders—the ruling party diverts attention from the principal problem of local administration bodies, namely from administrative decentralization and the granting of sufficient funds to those local authorities. Both the Romanians and the ethnic Hungarians, as well as other ethnic minorities, badly need an effective decentralization so that they could manage their problems better.

In the opinion of Mr. Gabriel Tepelea, first vice president of the PNTCD [National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party], "The right formulation, which leaves no room for any suspicion, is as follows: 'the granting of the right to administrative decentralization to the ethnic minorities.'" (CRONICA ROMANA 16 July 1996)

Over the past four years, the tendency we witnessed was exactly the reverse of this. De facto, the control exerted by the government, as well as the encroachment of the center in local territorial affairs, has increased despite

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the fact that formally they amended to law on local public administration.

b) By projecting "the Hungarian threat" in the foreground, they divert the attention of public opinion, of the Romanian electorate, from the major problems of today, namely from the fundamental restructuring of the economic-financial mechanisms and reality. Currently, over 60 percent of the population live under more difficult conditions than four years ago. Many of them have reached the limits of poverty and famine.

c) By laying stress on the "perils" coming from the ethnic Hungarian communities, they probably try to gain more votes, namely those of that part of the population that gives credit to such assertions.

The Diversion

During the 1992 elections, one of the principal diversion issues they used during the electoral campaign was the false dilemma and the discussions about the nature of the state: a republic or a monarchy. Many people fell into the trap of this question, without even realizing that, actually, this issue has nothing to do with Romania's genuine problems.

During the 1996 elections "the Hungarian threat" might be turned into the basic diversion.

Evolutions yet to come will show to what extent this diversion is to be put forth by the PDSR and its allies. Furthermore, the stance to be displayed by the opposition parties with respect to this issue will be equally significant.

Romania: Delay in New Flight Safety System Purchase Discussed

AU1208171796 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 10 Aug 96 p 4

[Article by Carmen Andrei: "Due to Lack of Funds, the Civilian Aeronautics Authority Postponed the Purchase of a Calibration Aircraft"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Romanian Civilian Aeronautics Authority (AACR) is the sole Romanian body authorized to carry out flights with the purpose of checking and calibrating ground equipment designed to offer security in air navigation. Such equipment is absolutely essential for the flight safety and security of all aircraft. On average, about 60 such checking and calibration hours must be flown each month, and the aircraft in question must be equipped specially to be able to carry out such measurements. In May 1995, due to the fact that both the aircraft and the equipment they had been using for such purposes was technically outdated and worn out, the AACR organized a tender with the intent of purchasing a new system. The tender was participated in by eight companies that specialized in manufacturing flight verification systems, as well as six aircraft manufacturers. Following an analysis of the offers, the tender was won by Air Hanson, a British company, which offered a Beechcraft 350-type aircraft equipped with a Canadian-made Litton-type navigation-checking system. The price they asked for was $10.639 million, including interest, taxes, and loan commission. The financing was to be ensured by Exim-Bank of the United States, as well as the EDC [expansion unknown] of Canada, on the basis of guarantees offered by the Romanian Government.

Quite understandably, the war going on in Yugoslavia at that time made in necessary that a large part of the air traffic to the Balkan countries, as well as to the Middle and Far East should run through our national air space, which brought substantial profit for the AACR, too. However, following the conclusion of the aforementioned conflict, these favorable financial circumstances began to change, and they even took a dramatic turn following the crash [in early 1996] of an AACR calibration aircraft near the city of Baia Mare.

Beginning in March 1996, the work on the contract to purchase the aircraft and equipment from the Air Hanson company slowed down. To the present day, the final purchasing contract has not yet been signed. [passage omitted]

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Federal

FRY: Lilic Says Libyan Aircraft Welcome in FRY Airspace

LD1308212896 Tripoli Libyan Television Network in Arabic 2000 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] President of Federal Yugoslavia Zoran Lilic has received the brother secretary of the Libyan Arab People's Bureau in Belgrade, who conveyed to him the brother leader of the revolution's message to world leaders and the president of the UN Security Council on the unjust measures imposed on the Great Jamahiriyah.

The Yugoslav president asked the brother secretary of the Libyan Arab People's Bureau to convey his greetings to the brother leader of the revolution and his full support for the contents of the brother leader's message. He said that any Libyan Arab aircraft would be welcome to fly in Yugoslavia's airspace or land at its airports.

Yugoslavia's assent to Libyan Arab aircraft flying in Yugoslavia's airspace and landing at its airports is based on the resolutions of international and regional organizations—namely, the Arab League, the OAU, the Nonaligned Movement, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, and international and regional bodies and organizations that constitute a vast majority at the United Nations. These organizations have declared their support for Libya and its just stances and have stressed that they are not committed to the unjust measures imposed on the Great Jamahiriyah.

FRY: PRC National People's Congress Delegation Arrives

LD1308183096 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1723 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 13 (TANJUG)—A delegation of China's National People's Congress, headed by Congress Vice Chairman Wu Jieping, arrived on an official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia Tuesday, at the invitation of the Yugoslav parliament.

The Chinese parliamentarians were welcomed at Belgrade airport by Deputy Speaker of the Yugoslav Parliament's Chamber of Republics Radmilo Bogdanovic and the Chinese embassy staff.

Wu told the press at the airport that the purpose of the visit was to spur cooperation between the two peoples and parliaments.

He drew attention to the deep friendship and understanding between China and Yugoslavia and described Yugoslavia as an important country in the region.

Bogdanovic said the visit was long overdue and noted that the Chinese delegation was one of the highest to visit Yugoslavia since the suspension of the U.N. sanctions.

The Chinese parliamentarians, who will be in Yugoslavia through Aug. 18, will have talks with a Yugoslav parliamentary delegation, the speakers of both houses of the federal legislature and top state officials of Yugoslavia and its republics, Serbia and Montenegro.

FRY: Federal Government Assesses Ties to Croatia 'Positively'

LD1308131996 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1142 GMT 13 Aug 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 13 (TANJUG)—The government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has positively assessed the development of Yugoslav-Croatian relations so far, expecially as regards economic cooperation and resolving humanitarian issues, the federal information secretariat said.

The federal government also discussed information on the preparations for the normalization of bilateral relations presented by Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic.

The government entrusted competent federal bodies with pursuing bilateral contacts in order to improve communications and economic cooperation.

It pointed to the importance of ensuring the conditions for resolving the issue of Prevlaka (peninsula on the Adriatic), the free and safe repatriation of refugees and displaced persons, their personal safety and the safety of their property, and resolving issues regarding pensions and disability payments, the statement says.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is ready to fully normalize its relations with Croatia and other former Yugoslav republics, as factors of extraordinary importance for the promotion of the peace process, stability, development and cooperation in the region, the statement says.

The Yugoslav Foreign Ministry was entrusted with pursuing activities for the normalization of relations with Croatia and other former Yugoslav republics.

The government has defined the bases for initiating talks between Yugoslav Finance Minister Tomica Raicevic and high officials of British Foreign Ministry and representatives of Natwest markets, Yugoslavia's principal financial advisor, scheduled for August 14 in London.

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FRY: Hungarian Statement on Minorities Seen as Intervention

LD1308132896 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Yugoslavia considers the joint statement [supporting ethnic Hungarians' demand for autonomy] that was approved by a Hungarian-Hungarian meeting [on 5 July] as intervention in its domestic affairs. Szilveszter Varga reports from Belgrade:

[Varga] Margit Savovic, Yugoslavia's human rights and minorities minister, told Hungarian radio that the joint statement suggested that the situation of Hungarians living beyond Hungary's borders was not settled constitutionally. The Yugoslav minister said that the fact that one country supports the retailoring of another's constitution could be considered as nothing less than intervention in the country's domestic affairs.

As for the question of autonomy for minorities, Savovic said that there is no international document that obliges signatories to recognize collective rights. Then she added:

[Begin Savovic recording] Thirty or so minority groups live in Yugoslavia, and all of them have equal constitutional rights. What is given to one minority is due to the others as well. Is it possible to have autonomy on 30 different levels within one country? I think the answer, logically, can only be no. [end recording]

The minister stressed that it would have been more appropriate for Hungary to discuss the content of the joint statement with its neighbors first because, in her view:

[Begin Savovic recording] The domestic affairs of another country should not be discussed in the absence of the country concerned or, what is more, behind closed doors. [end recording]

Savovic added that the Yugoslav Government has always been ready for dialogue with its minorities, but the condition for this was that minorities should recognize Yugoslavia's sovereignty and the inviolability of borders.

FRY: Pressure Mounting To Cooperate With Hague Tribunal

AU1408083596 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Aug 96 p 8

[Commentary by Aleksandar Djordjevic: "Liaison Office in Belgrade After All"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In about 10 days, the Liaison Office of the International War Crimes Tribunal at The Hague will open in Belgrade. What has delayed the opening of this office until August, even though Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic promised this to U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher back in February, is clear only to those whose signatures to open the office were being awaited. Justifying such a delay with legal and constitutional limitations in a country where the law and the Constitution are less important than a first grader's homework seems like a joke to anyone who has an inkling of how this state functions.

In the end, the only question is this: In the time that has passed, has the Tribunal ceased to be anti-Serb? Anti-Serbism was the basic feature the so-called patriotic media ascribed to the Tribunal since the day it was created. That was the official view of this state, a view Yugoslav diplomats advocated when justifying our noncooperation.

If the same argument are used—the main exponents of that policy still occupy the same positions—it would be very difficult to find justification for such a radical turn in Yugoslvia's sworn principled and unwavering policy toward the solution of the Yugoslav crisis. Serbs still lead the list of indicted war criminals, and the only consolation is that a number of accused members of the opposite side in the war are also in the custody of the Tribunal. But that is only proof that the Tribunal is doing what it was created to do.

Perhaps a deciding factor in Yugoslavia's decision to prove its cooperativeness in practice was last week's UN Security Council statement—which confirms our long-standing claims that those around us are no better than we are—warning Yugoslavia and Croatia alike to fulfill their obligations and cooperate with the Hague Tribunal or face possible "measures of economic coercion."

Sanctions were also mentioned in Belgrade on Friday by U.S. peace envoy John Kornblum, who said unequivocally that the United States was unhappy about the fact that things that were supposed to be resolved in March are still being discussed in August. It seems that he does not know that procrastination and doing things at the last minute, when your back is against the wall, usually when it is already too late, are the basic characteristics of Serb policy in the past 10 years or so.

By the way, the main issue between Belgrade and The Hague—sending defendants to face the judges in The Hague—seems as remote now as it was three years ago. Today it is becoming increasingly clear that the international community is losing its patience, that the U.S. elections are ever closer, that Bill Clinton needs to score some points, and that we must therefore give good thought to whether the Americans will talk in October

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about things left over from August or simply do what they could have done back in August.

Serbia

Serbia: SPS Official Notes 'Many Successes' of FRY Foreign Policy

LD1108123496 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1159 GMT 11 Aug 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kragujevac, Aug. 11 (TANJUG)—Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) Vice President Slavica Djukic-Dejanovic said on the Yugoslav radio station Kragujevac Sunday that Yugoslavia's foreign policy had scored many successes.

She singled out the recognition of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the upgrading of diplomatic relations with it to the ambassadorial level.

The SPS official drew attention to the steps taken at the "political and economic levels to normalize the situation with the former Yugoslav republics."

She said the meeting between President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and his Croatian counterpart, Franjo Tudjman, in Athens last week was a sign that the "normalization of relations with all important subjects in the Balkans is inevitable."

The situation in the Balkans is improving daily, step by step, in line with the post-Dayton period, which has called for a great deal of energy, wisdom, patience, tolerance and political acumen, the SPS official said.

She observed that numerous political and economic delegations visiting Yugoslavia were lending support to Belgrade's peace policy.

Djukic-Dejanovic said diplomatic relations were a condition for the setting up of all other forms of links among states and noted that the intensification of economic, cultural, sports and other ties would depend on Yugoslavia's economic performance.

Serbia: Commentary Examines Background of New TANJUG Head

AU1408082496 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Aug 96 p 5

[Commentary by V. Radivojvic: "A Change Without Substantial Changes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At 38, Zoran Jevdjevic is probably one of the youngest news agency directors in the country and certainly the youngest director in the history of the TANJUG national news agency. Some people claim that Jevdjevic can ascribe his rise to such a high position to his direct friendly ties to the Milosevic-Markovic family. Unlike his former colleagues in Television, he was not a high-ranking official of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] or the Yugoslav Left.

The details of Jevdjevic's career are not well known. He has a bachelor's degree in political science, and his specialty is international politics. He became a well-known media figure in the 1990's with the beginning of the crisis in Yugoslavia. He belonged to the generation of devotees of the "Serb cause." He was the editor of the RTS prime-time News Report [Dnevnik] and was reportedly one of the main censors in this broadcasting company, who personally had to see everything being broadcast on all RTS news programs.

It is interesting to note that some media historians associate Jevdjevic with the beginnings of the "ethnic cleansing" of TANJUG. In the second half of 1991, during the battles in Vukovar, the News Report, whose editor was Jevdjevic, showed part of a CNN program that featured Zorz Crmaric, at that time TANJUG's correspondent in Washington, D.C. Commenting on the fighting, Crmaric said that the attacker was the "side that has more arms." That was enough to produce a whole avalanche of accusations against Crmaric, resulting in his and his family's leaving Yugoslavia and moving to the United States. After that incident, there were many purges in TANJUG, and, over the past five years, more than 90 journalists have left this news agency.

When Jevdjevic went to TANJUG about two years ago, he was a diplomatic editor, and his job was mainly to follow the activities of President Milosevic. His colleagues, who also deal with international issues, say that, among all of the journalists, he alone has access to the Serbian president's office when important international guests are visiting. All of the other reporters have to sit outside and wait for hours. Although Jevdjevic is undoubtedly the closest to the sources of real information, his reports have always been just slightly less insubstantial than those issued by Milosevic's office. His colleagues remark jokingly that he writes his reports with four hands—in association with Goran Milinovic, the chief of Milosevic's staff. Therefore, no one expects that Jevdjevic's new position as director of TANJUG will bring any changes in the work of the national news agency.

In the meantime, nobody knows what is happening with Slobodan Jovanovic. His departure as director of TANJUG had been long awaited for at least two reasons: First, he has remained a follower of the hard-line, military branch of the SPS. Second, he had been

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in a conflict with Dragan Tomic, minister coordinator in the Serbian Cabinet, who has a firm position in the SPS and the JUL [Yugoslav Left]. At the huge and exhausting SPS congress, Jovanovic had "fallen out" of all significant party positions.

Last year there were rumors that he might again become editor in chief of POLITIKA EKSPRES. Inasmuch as he made no public appearances that could irritate the leaders of the SPS, even though he was undoubtedly in a difficult position, it is safe to assume that, in keeping with the usual practice, he can look forward to a sinecure that is awarded to depleted but obedient cadre.

Kosovo

Kosovo: Rugova Says 1990 Constitution Guarantees Serb Rights

AU1408075496 Tirana ATA in English 1022 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 12 (ATA)—The interests of the Serbs in general and of those residing in Kosova in particular are being used by the Serb propaganda and top officials as a means to justify Serb domination on Kosova. But the constitution of the Republic of Kosova, adopted in 1990, guarantees "full rights to the members of other nationalities living in the Republic of Kosova, fulfilling their wish to proceed on their own free will on the road of democracy, social justice, peace and friendship between the peoples." This juridical document of the Kosova state guarantees the Serbs 14 seats in parliament and, as President of the Republic of Kosova Ibrahim Rugova has said, "clearly sanctions all guarantees for the Serb interests in Kosova."

The Serb propaganda, according to which the Serbs' life in Kosova is "at stake," is baseless. The Albanian population in Kosova is unarmed and what is more important, they have chosen the peaceful way to realise their goals, likewise peaceful at a very high cost. This is testified by the whole way followed by the Albanians at various stages to create their own state, with all its legislative and administrative institutions.

In the multi-party elections for parliament and the president of Kosova on May 24, 1992, in which took part Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Croats, Turks, Gypsies and Moslems, 14 seats were left vacant to the Serbs. These seats were defined based on the percentage of the Kosova population and the proportional distribution of seats in parliament. This document and the peaceful policy historically pursued by Albanians are a guarantee for the Serbs living in Kosova and at the same time a guarantee for Serbia, which will have in its borders a state offering good neighbourliness with both sides respecting the rights of one another.

Kosovo: Istok Assembly To Annul Property Sales to Albanians

LD1308134596 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1052 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Istok, 13 August (TANJUG)—At its coming session, the municipal assembly of Istok will decide to annul the sale of Serb property to Shiptars [pejorative name for Albanians] in this municipality and in Pec county because such sales are banned by law, Malisa Perovic, president of the Istok municipal assembly, told TANJUG.

At the same session, the names of Serbs who have in the past year sold their land to Shiptars in this area of Kosmet, where one plot of 100 square meters of Serb land costs up to 30,000 German marks, will be published, Perovic added.

Perovic said that he would ask the Republic [of Serbia] to help in banning sales of Serb land in Kosmet or at least the sale of such land to Shiptars.

According to the commission's findings, among cases of such sales are the names of some "senior military officials from this area, former and present ministers, high officials, and managers," Perovic added. He added that the regional committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia and the Pec county leadership have given full support to the Istok municipality in preventing further breaches of the law banning property sales and purchases between Serbs and Albanians through bogus mortgages, property deals with witnesses, without official transfer, and so on. [passage omitted]

Kosovo: LDK: Orahovac School To House 200 Serb Colonists

AU1408104396 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The secondary school building in Rahovec [Orahovac] is expected to shelter some 200 Serbian colonists to Kosova. They are currently situated in the "Orvin" workers camp, LDK [Democratic League of Kosova] sources reported Saturday [10 August]. The Serbian installed authorities authorized the adoption of the school building for accommodation of refugees. The school building has been virtually empty since 1991 when Albanian students were denied access to it.

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Kosovo: Information Center Denies Serb Allegations of Terrorism

AU1408095696 Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian 14 Aug 96 p 4

[Unattributed report: "They Sent a File to The Hague"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Kosovo Information Center, closely associated with the Democratic League of Kosovo [DSK], has denied allegations made by Radmilo Bogdanovic, chairman of the FRY Assembly's Chamber of Republics, that the DSK is behind the series of terrorist attacks in the province over the past few months.

The Information Service's statement reads that all Kosovo Albanian political parties, including the DSK, condemn terrorism. The statement adds that the Human Rights Committee has sent to The Hague "an extensive file containing evidence against Bogdanovic and a substantial number of Serb officials."

The Information Center alleges that Bogdanovic, a high-ranking police official, is responsible for the "murder of dozens of young Albanians...the poisoning of 7,000 children, and the establishment of camps for Albanian asylum seekers."

The Serb authorities are accused of trying to convince the international community that the Albanian political movement is terrorism and "of mass repression of Albanians."

In a statement to Radio Kragujevac, Bogdanovic linked the terrorist attacks to "the leadership of Ibrahim Rugova's extremist party."

Vojvodina

Vojvodina: Official Discusses Cooperation with Ukraine Envoy

LD1308192496 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1830 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Novi Sad, Aug. 13 (TANJUG)—Premier of Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina Bosko Perosevic discussed Tuesday with Ukrainian Ambassador to Yugoslavia Vadim Primatchenko the mutual economic and cultural cooperation.

Perosevic said relations between Yugoslavia and Ukraine were very good and had not been severed during the implementation of the U.N. sanctions, a provincial government statement said.

The Vojvodina premier said Yugoslav-Ukrainian relations were being further developed and expanded.

Primatchenko conveyed his government's satisfaction that members of the Ukrainian minority in Vojvodina were assisted by the state in organizing schools and pursuing broadcasting and publishing activities in their mother tongue.

The leadership of Ukraine's Lugansk region has invited a Vojvodina government delegation, headed by the premier, to attend the celebrations of the fifth anniversary of Ukraine's independence. The invitation was accepted, the provincial government statement said.

Vojvodina: Good Interethnic Relations Cited

LD1308172496 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1607 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Novi Sad, Aug. 13 (TANJUG)—Inter-ethnic relations in Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina, in which 26 national minorities live, have been described as good and stable by Vojvodina Secretary for Minority Rights and Socialist Party of Serbia Official Pavel Domonji.

Domonji said in an interview published in the local daily DNEVNIK Tuesday that members of national minorities lived together with Serbs in 35 municipalities and 493 towns and villages in the province.

He said Vojvodina authorities pursued a policy of national equality and there were no major inter-ethnic problems.

Domonji pointed out that in addition to Serbian, the Hungarian, Romanian, Czech, Slovak and Ruthanian languages were in official use in Vojvodina.

He observed that all citizens were able to use their mother tongue in courts and other state bodies.

Twenty-nine municipalities in Vojvodina have Hungarian primary schools, 12 have Slovak, 10 Romanian and 3 Ruthanian.

There are 12 high schools and 20 vocational secondary schools which teach in minority languages in Vojvodina.

As many as 91 percent of ethnic Romanian university students attend classes in their mother tongue. The figure for the ethnic-Hungarian university students stands at 69 percent and for the ethnic-Slovak at 32 percent, Domonji said.

The Vojvodina secretary for minority rights said the inter-state agreements on scientific, cultural and technological cooperation which Yugoslavia was about to sign would enable the cooperation of minorities with their mother countries.

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